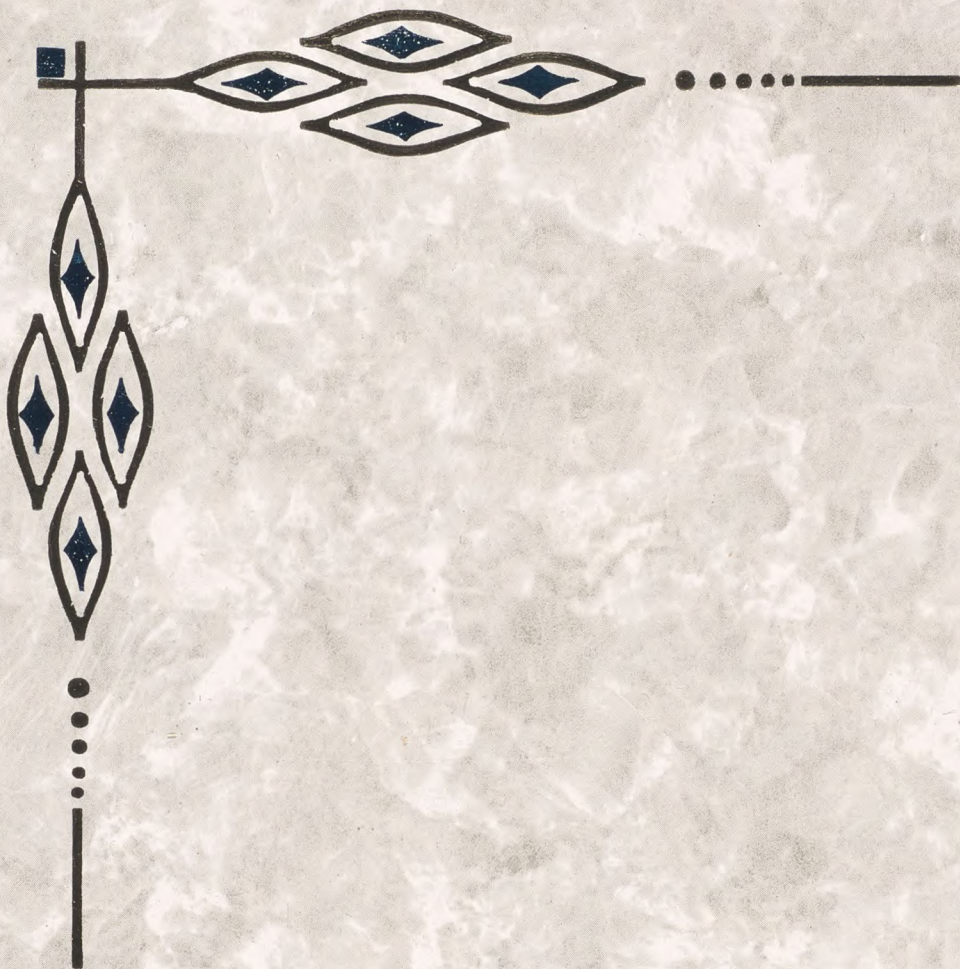


M. Caldwell Butler #8

July 1974

#8



Scrap  
Book



M. Caldwell Butler #8 - July 1974



# Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Sunday, July 28, 1974

In Impeachment Proceedings

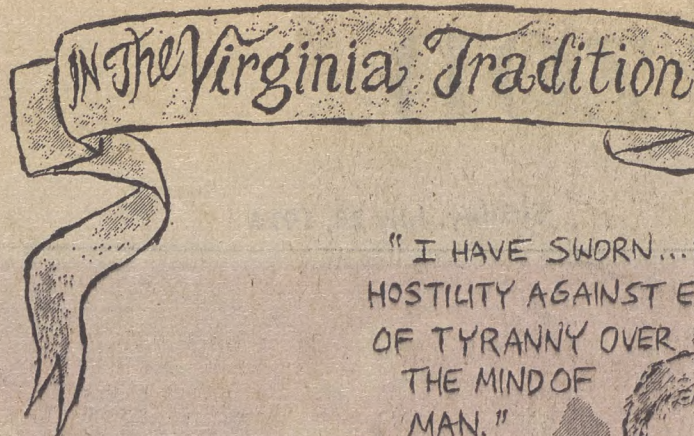
## Congress Looks Good

The House Judiciary Committee hearings should cause the American people to look at, be introduced to, something they may not have met before: the much-abused United States Congress. Democratic President Harry Truman used to run against a "do-nothing Congress." In his days of greatest arrogance—say in January, 1973—President Nixon would not make a State of the Nation address in person. He began erecting a super-structure of top management which would not even be subject to confirmation by the Senate. Beating on Congress has been a favorite pastime.

Yet the hard work done and sincerity shown by members of this committee seem unquestionable. The member whose opinions are most opposite those of this editorial page is Mr. Sandman, of New Jersey; yet we think he is an effective advocate of his position and we are glad he is there. And the same for Wiggins of California, Dennis of Indiana, and Hutchinson of Michigan.

Our compliments already have been paid to M. Caldwell Butler of this district. Among others who are coming down on the pro-impeachment side, Railsback of Illinois, Thornton of Arkansas and Jordan of Texas seem particularly impressive. Readers who have seen portions of the hearings missed by the editors probably would make additions to the honor roll. As far as we are concerned, the whole committee belongs on the honor roll; and especially Chairman Rodino, about whom bad things were said last fall.

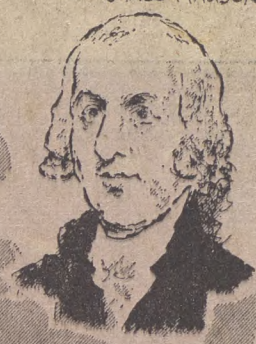
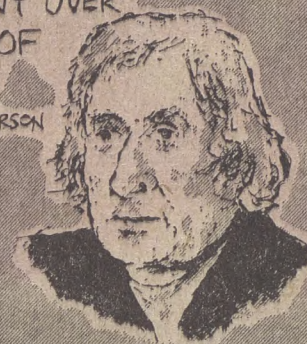
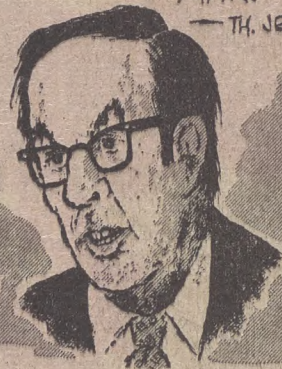
As this grave matter moves to the House of Representatives congressmen there are destined to rise to the occasion. If there is a trial by the Senate, which seems more probable now, most Senators, too, will reach a high plateau. And what does this mean? It means that the system is working; that we have a government of laws; that our institutions, though they may sometimes look clumsy, are strong. The nation cannot only survive this ordeal; it can come out all the better for it.



"AN ELECTIVE  
DESPOTISM WAS NOT  
THE GOVERNMENT WE  
FOUGHT FOR."  
— JAMES MADISON

"I HAVE SWORN... ETERNAL  
HOSTILITY AGAINST EVERY FORM  
OF TYRANNY OVER  
THE MIND OF  
MAN."  
— TH. JEFFERSON

"THE MISUSE OF  
POWER IS THE  
VERY ESSENCE  
OF TYRANNY."  
— CALDWELL BUTLER



## Consensus Grows

# Crucible of Impeachment

By JOSEPH KRAFT

FROM THE CRUCIBLE of impeachment there now emerges a new national model of the presidency. It combines southern constitutionalism and the progressive idealism of the West with eastern liberalism.

It puts into discard the imperial and military features of the presidency which grew so prominent in the course of the American rise to international preeminence. It reasserts the principle that legitimacy has to reach beyond personal success to rest on trust in the people and their surrogates in the Congress and the courts.

Perhaps the finest role in the impeachment process has been played by the South. Southerners are peculiarly disposed to the intense patriotism that goes with having once been a highly distinct part of the country. Southerners figure large in the military. So the South has been especially prone to stand up and salute any president.

But four southern traditionalists on the Judiciary Committee—Caldwell Butler, a Virginia Republican, and Democrats Walter Flowers, James Mann and Ray Thornton from Alabama, South Carolina and Arkansas, respectively—took their stand against Mr. Nixon. All four delivered notable statements, and Mr. Thornton made what seemed to me the most penetrating analysis of the cover-up.

Mr. Flowers reached beyond the mere constitutional form to consider end results. He said: "The institutions of this country have been set up by the people to serve them, to carry out those functions

"The impeachment now rests on a philosophic consensus. The effort of the White House to divide the Congress and the country has failed."

that are not created to serve the interests of one man or one group of men or the political gain of anyone."

Progressive idealism found expression in the remarks of such Democrats as Jerome Waldie and Don Edwards of California and Tom Railsback and Harold Froelich, Republicans from Illinois and Wisconsin, respectively. All of them have been known as good government men. They have looked to the presidency, like many other progressives, as an agency for maintaining fairness and honesty.

So Mr. Railsback nearly lost control as he recounted Mr. Nixon's use of the Internal Revenue Service and the Justice Department. Mr. Waldie registered incredulity as he cited President Nixon disparaging the moral example set by President Eisenhower.

As to the eastern liberals, they have been the president-lovers par excellence. Since the New Deal days, the minorities of the big cities have looked to the presidents as their special defenders. Patriotic figures, comprising the so-called Eastern Establishment, have also nailed their standards to the White House.

But John Conyers, the black Democrat

from Detroit, made a point of resting his vote against the President on a stand usually dear to southerners—the prerogatives of the Congress. Hamilton Fish Jr., the scion of a distinguished New York Republican family whose ancestors include a former secretary of State, made a point of disavowing privilege for a ruling class. "The rule of law," he said, "applies equally to those who govern as well as to the governed."

Finally, there was Chairman Peter Rodino of New Jersey, the product of a political machine which for years batted on the favor of presidents. In his remarkable statement, Mr. Rodino cited the patron saint of conservatism, Edmund Burke. He put in on his own motion an eminently Burkean statement: "Our judgment is not concerned with an individual but with a system of constitutional government."

Even the President's chief defenders are not in conflict with the principle that binds his accusers. Charles Wiggins of California and David Dennis of Indiana, for example, based their case on narrow legal grounds—on the lack of what Mr. Wiggins called "competent evidence," and not on disagreement with the principle of restricting presidential power.

So the impeachment rests on a philosophic consensus. The effort of the White House to divide the Congress and the country has failed. It is fit that impeachment comes on the heels of the unanimous Supreme Court decision to limit executive privilege. And the country now moves toward impeachment united as rarely before.



# Rollcall vote of

Article 1 — Impeachment based on obstruction of justice

Article 2 — Impeachment based on abuse of presidential powers



JACK BROOKS, 51, (D-Tex.), in House 21 years. Represents primarily industrial area embracing Beaumont-Port Arthur and Galveston. Tough, voluble liberal. Regarded from outset of inquiry as one of seven sure pro-impeachment votes. Chairs Government Operation Subcommittee. Supported President Nixon on 34 percent of votes in 1973.



Art. 1 — Y

Art. 2 —



M. CALDWELL BUTLER, 48, (R-Va.), in House since 1973. Represents traditionally Republican district embracing western Roanoke. Although he supported Mr. Nixon 75 percent of the time last year, he was early perceived as potential pro-impeachment vote because he made distinction between political and legal aspects of investigation. Admitted once that question of impeachment weighs heavily upon him. "I think about it in church," he said.



Art. 1 — Y

Art. 2 —



## TV and the drama of the debate

By M. R. Montgomery  
Globe Staff

If the televised hearings of the Judiciary Committee were supposed to be drama, the right title was "Thirty-eight characters in search of an author."

And if great theater and great rhetoric demand tension and require suspense, the powerful moments came in Thursday's opening statements.

While that long day lasted, there was the great drama of men wrestling with their consciences and their constituents, finally abandoning their President and assuring a bipartisan vote on the first article of impeachment. Chandler Butler, round Virginia tones well-matched to his argument, husky-voiced Tom Railsback, quiet Lawrence Hogan and Bill Cohen, once the king's men, made it clear where they stood.

That was the end of the high drama, and viewers were left to the speculations of television commentators on the final vote. Much was made of the possibilities of a 27-11 vote, or a 28-10 vote, as though there were a point spread on the impeachment of the President.

Friday saw the massacre of reason in the name of specificity, a word which only half the committee could or would pronounce and none could agree on.

Friday had its low points, one for each side.

Congressman Waldie of California, always counted as a vote for impeachment, insisted on recounting the story of the obstruction of justice in a manner that even he admitted made it something of a fable, a fantasy. It was a manner better suited to reading the Sunday funnies over radio during a newspaper strike.

The Republican stalwarts, pencil-thumping Charles Landman; under-the-eyebrow-peering Charles Wiggins; David

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Dennis, every inch a Hoosier schoolmaster, carried on about specificity, but the low moment was reserved for Delbert L. Latta, an Ohio Republican.

Not since the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954 has a television audience been treated to even a brief moment like the one Latta produced.

Waving a copy of that day's Wall Street Journal, directing his remarks to the counsel's table where one-time minority counsel Jenner was sitting, Latta announced that the Journal had just that day reported that a committee on law reform headed by Jenner was in favor of the legalization of prostitution.

It was the breakdown, in the midst of an otherwise pointless debate, the slimy moment that rewarded viewers who had been waiting for someone to crack. Latta, smirking in his chair, unrepentant, ignoring Rep. Seiberling's demands for an apology, was the educational event of the night.

That moment showed exactly how the television camera influenced the days of debate. It allowed the congressmen to expose themselves, and yet, perhaps because of the constraints of the tiny hearing room and the limited number of cameras, the production itself was unobtrusive. There was no picture, at that moment, of Jenner's face, no panning shot of the gallery's reactions. The camera, like the bouncing ball in a sing-along movie, moved from speaker to speaker all through the hours.

As drama, it was not much of a show on Friday and yesterday.

It was not meant to be. It was merely the deliberations of the House Committee on the Judiciary. It was not intended to play well in Peoria, or anywhere else.

Boston Globe -

POLITICAL CIRCUIT  
By ROBERT HEALY

June 28, '74

## Nothing can save Nixon from trial — except to quit

WASHINGTON — President Nixon will be tried for high crimes and misdemeanors by the United States Senate this fall.

Nothing short of a miracle can save the President from impeachment in the House.

From the outset the strategy of the White House had been to make the impeachment inquiry of the House Judiciary Committee appear to be a partisan lynching of the President. Presidential Press secretary Ron Ziegler had called it a Kangaroo court.

That strategy began tumbling down when Rep. Lawrence Hogan, a conservative Republican from Maryland, held a news conference last week and announced that he would vote for impeachment.

That was just the beginning. During the debate on national television other Republicans, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and William Cohen of Maine leveled impassioned indictments of the President.

Said Butler of the President's conduct: "I cannot condone what I have heard. I cannot excuse it, and I cannot stand still for it."

And Cohen attacked the thesis of the President's chief supporters on the committee that the evidence is not sufficient. "Conspiracies are not born in the sunlight of direct observation. They are hatched in dark recesses, amid whispers and code words and verbal signals. The footprint of guilt must often be traced with the searchlight of probability."

Even the conservative Democrats — Walter Flowers of Alabama, James Mann of South Carolina and Paul Sarbanes of Maryland — once thought to have been supporters of the President, indicted the President.

These members held the key to the impeachment of the President by the House of Representatives.

For the last seven weeks they

have listened to the case against the President. They went into that Judiciary hearing room with a presumption of innocence toward the President. They come from states where they will not win overwhelming applause for an impeachment vote. Only the evidence has turned them. And they know more about the case, having served on the Judiciary Committee, than other members.

That has great weight in the House.

The members of the Judiciary Committee have been listening to that evidence, witnesses and tapes for the last seven weeks. They know the case. They presented their arguments in a sharp fashion.

And the vote itself could not help but influence the final judgment on President Nixon by the nation's voters.

This is the President's deepest crisis. He has to know that he is in trouble despite the words that come from his communications people.

So, once again there is talk here of the resignation of the President.

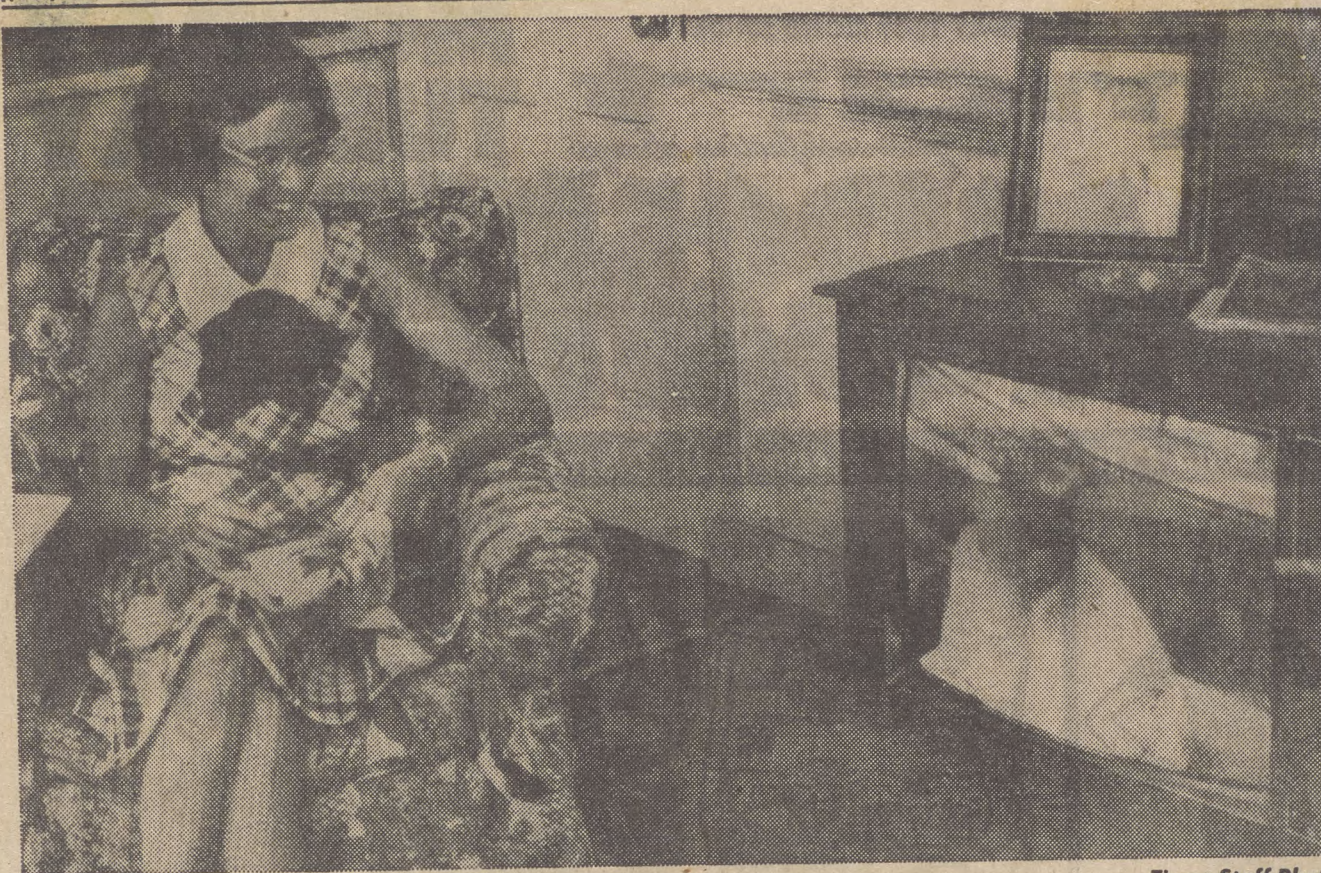
Richard Nixon has never quit before and there is nothing he has said or done thus far to indicate that he will quit now. On the contrary, based on past record there is reason to believe that he might tough it out.

But then, this is not just another crisis. No president in history has ever been impeached and convicted. Andrew Johnson was saved by one vote from conviction in the Senate.

Further, the House has spread the case before the American people. It is a shabby case at best and criminal at worst. The educational process has been served. If the President survives the Senate conviction vote, he will have difficulty governing.

Some of the bitterness will go if he does quit.





Times Staff Photo

Mrs. June Butler Watches Husband on TV

## After Congressman's Vote, She Thinks of 'Enemies'

By DONNA SHOEMAKER  
Times Staff Writer

M. Caldwell Butler's main sounding board sat in her Roanoke living room, her eyes fixed on her husband and the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment debate Saturday afternoon on the T.V., and commented that she and Butler might be on President Nixon's "enemies list."

June Butler smiled and said that Caldwell would add to that, "at this point, it's safer than the friends list."

In these past few days, when the firm support of Butler has shifted to a position favoring the impeachment of the President, Mrs. Butler has been watching the proceedings on their color television, and keeping in close touch by telephone with him and their 17-year-old son, Jimmy.

Jimmy has been in Washington this week with his Dad, sitting on the 15-minute debate during which the 6th District Republican said he would support two articles of impeachment. Jimmy has alternated the one seat allotted per committee member in the hearing room with Butler's staff.

For her part, Mrs. Butler said, she was glad to be at home watching it all, working on a crewel embroidery bell hanger and a jig-saw puzzle.

His speech Thursday came as a surprise to her, since when she had talked to him earlier that morning, he was still uncertain as to what to say. But watching it with her family, she was "very proud of his performance."

What led to her husband's changing his mind, she theorized, "was not so much

an avalanche as one continuous snowfall of evidence."

As she watched her husband Saturday afternoon go down a list of what the President did and did not know about the break-in, she told an interviewer, "he's pinpointing what the President knew and didn't rise up in righteous indignation about—and that's what got to him."

"In the beginning, his feelings went first one way and then another, almost like a clock," but what brought around Butler's thinking, his wife continued, was the accumulation of evidence.

She, too, has become absorbed with the evidence, and though she has not read all the volumes, she has read with particular care the volume that detailed the differences in the President's version and the Judiciary Committee's versions of the President's tapes.

"I read that book in its entirety—I was so shocked. I was 'I taking notes and marking pages.'"

Her reading of books this week brought her into the national news spotlight when she was quoted as saying she read to Caldwell in bed from Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's book on Watergate, "All the President's Men."

She explained Saturday, "I approve of bedtime reading, and that's just as good as Little Red Riding Hood." She had read to him from "Zelda" the week before, and a book on Kissinger before that. Her own views on impeaching Nixon paralleled those of her husband, she said. "I hate to do it—he has been a very warm, kind person" in all their personal meetings. And

though it has been "hard to accept the facts that came out in the tapes," she has done it.

Watching each of the committee members during their 15-minute debates this week, she was impressed with the "statesmen making their statements."

But as the debate grew more intricate, with the refinement of the impeachment articles, she said she felt the statesmen "were returning to their natural state of being politicians-lawyers," making following the debate more difficult.

Her own interest in Watergate sprang right from the beginning. Shortly after the Democratic National Headquarters were broken into more than two years ago, she and her husband were attending a seminar for the new Republican candidates. Quite mysteriously, 7 of the speakers that week were cancelled, Mrs. Nixon cancelled a tea, and the President cancelled his reception, Mrs. Butler said.

It left her puzzled since no explanations were offered. At the end of that week, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, one of the cancelled speakers, resigned.

And come November, if he is not re-elected, then at least it has been "a brief but bright two years,"—and especially the past few weeks—when she has seen her husband make a decision that has brought him into national prominence in the impeachment proceedings.

The reaction of friends to Butler's stance has generally been favorable, and those who have disagreed have done so politely—except for a few crank calls, she added.



Charles McDowell

July 28  
1974

## Impeachment And Reality

WASHINGTON — It has come a long way since that silly burglary at the Watergate in the summer of 1972 when Richard Nixon was on his way to one of the greatest election victories in the history of the United States. Each succeeding astonishment has seemed more unreal than the last.

Sensational newspaper stories implicated ranking members of the White House staff in assorted crimes, and sensational developments in Judge Sirica's court began confirming the stories. Members of the White House staff, some of them well known particularly for their zeal for law and order, resigned as the scandal spread, and the President praised them for noble service.

The Ervin committee heard the remarkable testimony of the remarkable John Dean, who had managed a scheme of obstruction of justice in the White House while he was said to be investigating it. The committee's theatrical probing for what had



McDowell

been going on in the White House suddenly produced the information that the President had secretly tape-recorded most of what went on.

The President fired the special prosecutor for going to court to get the tapes for evidence, and then the President did yield some of the tapes to the court and a crucial 18½-minute conversation turned out to have been mysteriously erased.

The President sent selected and edited tapes to the House Judiciary Committee and made them public, and the result was to emphasize the tapes he withheld as well as the damaging material he no longer withheld.

The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the President

must deliver a mass of tapes to courts that already have indicted or convicted for obstruction of justice the principal assistants with whom the President was conferring on the tapes.

All of it still has an unreal quality as we look at it. What is very real, what yanks some of us into a sense of reality we have never known before about anything, is members of the House Judiciary Committee sitting in a familiar room on Capitol Hill and saying the words: "Impeach the President of the United States and remove him from office." And they are voting to do it.

AFTER SEVEN MONTHS of investigation, compilation, partisan wrangling, nonpartisan soul-searching and obvious anguish all round, a bipartisan majority, more than a 2-1 majority, believes it has sufficient direct evidence and inference to establish that President Nixon engaged in a pattern of conduct that obstructed justice and abused the power of his office as defined in the Constitution.

The minority objects to inferences, or anyway to the legality of them, and to the theory of patterns of conduct. The minority demands "specificity" in the articles of impeachment, as in a criminal indictment.

The argument over specific vs. general charges will continue when the case goes to the whole House and if it goes, as seems likely now, to the Senate for trial. The committee majority con-

Continued on Page 4, Col. 3

## Impeachment And Reality

Continued From First Page

tends that it has enough specifics to back up its general charges, and it would not be surprised if some very persuasive additional specifics were picked up along the way from the tapes recently demanded of the President by the Supreme Court.

Although nobody is sure what those tapes will reveal or even how Congress would acquire them, one of the lessons of Watergate is to expect the unexpected and don't expect it to help the President.

**ONLY SEVEN OF THE 38 MEMBERS** of the Judiciary Committee are Southerners. They are interesting not just because they have turned out to have a certain grace and eloquence and introspective quality in a nationally televised debate, but because their role in this thing is crucial.

Of the seven members from the South, six have now voted for impeachment. Republican Trent Lott of Mississippi, alone among those from this conservative source of heavy support for President Nixon's election and legislative program, opposes impeachment.

Democrats Jack Brooks and Barbara Jordan, both of Texas, come from districts where a vote for impeachment probably causes no great political trouble for them. But the other four — Republican M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia and Democrats Walter Flowers of Alabama, James R. Mann of South Carolina and Ray Thornton of Arkansas — are conservative men from conservative districts where the President has been very popular and many voters have viewed impeachment as a liberal conspiracy.

To understate the matter, politics would have been an easier life for Butler, Flowers, Mann and Thornton if they could have justified voting against impeachment.

The same was true, in varying degrees and for varying reasons, for three Northern Republicans — Tom Railsback of Illinois, William Cohen of Maine and Hamilton Fish of New York. When Butler of Virginia realized that his view of the evidence and the Constitution was pushing him toward impeachment against his every political instinct, he began to meet and agonize privately with Railsback, Cohen and Fish.

At first, Butler's group was wary of the three known waverers among the Democrats, Flowers, Mann and Thornton. But gradually the two groups began to pool their concerns and notions of a reasonable approach to the unhappy mission of impeachment. In the final weeks and days when the articles of impeachment were being drafted, the two groups working together achieved increasing influence on the majority of the committee.

So four conservative Southerners — three Democrats and a Republican from Roanoke — along with three Northern Republicans, are responsible in large part for the bipartisan and cross-regional nature of the pro-impeachment majority. They are, in fact, architects of the two basic articles on obstruction of justice and abuse of power by President Nixon.



Sunday, July 28, 1974

Richmond

Times - Dispatch

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## Vote Not Expected To Hurt Butler Bid

By James Latimer

Can a Republican congressman who votes for impeachment expect to win reelection this year in the congressional district that was Virginia's most pro-Nixon district in 1972?

This was one variation of a practical political question posed after Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th District on Thursday took his stand firmly and eloquently, if reluctantly, in favor of the impeachment of Richard Nixon.

The tentative answer suggested yesterday by sources inside and outside the Roanoke-Lynchburg-lower Shenandoah Valley district was clearly affirmative.

How does that happen in a district where Nixon polled nearly 73 percent of the presidential vote while Butler was polling 55 per cent of the votes cast for Congress?

### No Pro-Nixon Foe

Part of the explanation may be, as an observer in the Roanoke area noted, that Butler is NOT faced with a pro-Nixon opponent on the Nov. 5 ballot. He also has prepared his constituents by a policy of great candor in keeping them informed of the impeachment issues enmeshing him as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Butler shares the 6th District ballot with three opponents: Democrat Paul Puckett of Roanoke, who was out strongly for impeachment long before Butler; Warren D. Saunders of



AP Wirephoto

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler  
Was Outpolled by Nixon

Bedford, whose American party associates long have been critical of the Nixon regime, and Timothy A. McGay of Goshen, an independent who has said his prime interest is in conservation but has NOT indicated that that includes the conservation of Nixon as President.

Butler's nationally televised exposition of why he felt compelled to favor impeachment stirred up some irate Nixonites to vow they'd never vote for Butler again. They are believed to be very few — at least, by Nov. 5, it seems probable very few will feel moved to vote for a Butler opponent. They may be offset by Democrats and independents impressed by the Butler demonstration of candor and courage.

Among those who didn't think Butler had hurt his reelection

chances, Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., though sticking to the presumption that President Nixon is innocent until proved guilty, said he would have "No adverse comment" on the Butler stand.

"Naturally he's concerned, as we all are, about whether the President will have to be impeached," Godwin told a UPI reporter, "And naturally you can't please everybody."

The governor also told another reporter he doubted that the impeachment proceedings would prove to be a decisive factor in any of the seven Virginia districts where Republican incumbents face Democratic challengers in the 1974 congressional elections.

Other observers wondered, however, if developments between now and Nov. 5 might not change this appraisal. If the House impeaches, and the Senate tries the President, the trial probably would be going on throughout the autumn campaigning. Whichever way they vote on impeachment, seven Republicans running for reelection thus might be subjected to unpredictable consequences from presently unforeseeable evidence. It could be, as one of the seven has said, a no-win situation for some of the Virginia GOP incumbents — meaning that an imponderable number of voters may be alienated by a vote either for or against impeachment.

Though Butler's 6th District gave Nixon his largest majority

Continued on Page 4, Col. 1

### Butler Stand May Not Hurt

Continued From First Page

in percentage terms of any of Virginia's 10 congressional districts in 1972, other districts may be more volatile in their reactions to the Nixon-impeachment-Watergate emotional complex. Other Virginia congressmen, therefore, may encounter more political difficulties because of their impeachment stances than the first Virginia incumbent to announce his impeachment intentions.

It now appears that more White House tapes may somehow be made public before election day — in the Senate trial or via court proceedings. What if these tapes served conclusively either to prove President Nixon guilty or innocent?



# Butler: Vote To Hurt Re-election Bid

R.T. Mon Jul. 29, 74

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., acknowledged Sunday his decision to support the impeachment of President Nixon "undoubtedly" will be harmful to his bid for re-election in his home 6th District in Western Virginia.

"It clearly has offended some of our strong party people to whom I owe my job," Butler said in an interview with Richmond television station WTVR.

Butler said his vote for the impeachment of Mr. Nixon is a factor that the voter will have to take into consideration, but the freshman Republican congressman repeated "something I have said many times before."

"The significance of this vote far out-

weighs the political future of me or anybody else in Congress. It's my first term and the job is not so good that I would feel compelled to make the judgment on a political expediency."

Butler said he felt, on the contrary, the politically expedient thing for him would have been to oppose the impeachment of the President.

Turning to the criticism by some of Nixon's supporters that the first article of impeachment against the President wasn't specific enough, Butler said "I feel very strongly that we have a strong statement of the case, which is what the function of an article of impeachment is...to tell the President of the United States the things with which he is charged."

Butler added that the House Judiciary Committee set out general areas of the evidence in the article charging Nixon with obstructing justice and the actual setting forth of time, place and specific details is "not the function of the original pleading in any litigation."

Although Butler's acknowledgment that his recent actions could be fraught with harmful political consequences, observers in Virginia speculated over the weekend that the impact on his bid for re-election in the district might be minimal since none of his three opponents in the race are Nixon supporters.

Butler Opposes Nixon Resignation —  
Page 1

THE TIMES MONDAY JULY 29 1974



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## THE VOTE FOR IMPEACHMENT

The process of impeachment of President Nixon rolls on, slowly but, it seems, with inexorable momentum. From the early days, back in the Presidential election campaign of 1972, when the Watergate affair first broke upon an astonished public, the investigation, amplified by all the murky ramifications that have been uncovered, has focused on a single point: the role of the President himself. Did he discharge or did he abuse the trust of his high office?

It is, essentially, to give a final answer to that terrible question that the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has voted to recommend that Mr. Nixon be impeached. The vote on Saturday night, on the first article of impeachment, charging obstruction of justice in the Watergate affair, was no surprise. It was evident from the speeches made during the final sessions of the committee, shown on television, that a number of Republicans would cast their votes against Mr. Nixon, in favour of impeachment. The final tally, by twenty-seven to eleven, represents a convincing majority.

Some of the Republicans who voted against their President, and many Democrats too, no doubt, did so with a heavy heart. The choice was a stark one. What may

seem easy enough in public comments, in the highly charged atmosphere of American politics, was obviously a harsh duty to act upon when the moment of decision came. It seems likely, however, that when the House itself meets next month, to decide whether or not to send the case for trial by the Senate, the strong bipartisan support for impeachment will be maintained.

The first article on which the Judiciary Committee has recommended impeachment is the most important, though others will probably follow. It charges that Mr. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath, "engaged, personally and through his subordinates and agents, in a course of conduct or plan designed to delay, impede, and obstruct the investigation" of the Watergate break-in; "to cover up, conceal and protect those responsible and to conceal the existence and scope of the unlawful covert activities". There follows a list of nine means used to implement this course of conduct or plan, which constitute a detailed and most formidable indictment, leading to a short and iron-sounding conclusion: "Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office."

The work of the committee

over the past three months has been long and arduous. It was clear that the great mass of evidence was being sifted and scrutinized with rigorous impartiality. It was only in the last few days, when the committee proceeded to its prosecutorial phase, that impartiality, necessarily, was abandoned. There was wrangling from both sides. Some of Mr. Nixon's supporters set out deliberately to provoke his accusers, and on occasion succeeded. Overall, none the less, the impression has been given of an extremely serious and dignified debate, and the committee's voting on the first article of impeachment certainly vindicates the strong presentation made by the chief counsel, Mr. John Doar, in his previous summing up.

What must be particularly alarming to Mr. Nixon, despite the White House's would-be confident comments that the full House would recognize that there was not sufficient evidence to support impeachment, is the range of Congressmen who voted against him. Mid-Western and Southern Republicans, the Southern Democrats too, are lining up with liberal Democrats in favour of impeachment. Unless there is a sudden change of sentiment, impeachment looks to be inevitable.



# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Wed July 31, 1974

## The Judiciary Committee's Work

THE PROCEEDINGS of the House Judiciary Committee have set an elevated and distinguished standard of judgment for all that must now follow. The Committee's debate has served to illuminate for the whole country the nature of political responsibility as Americans have traditionally understood it. The Committee has concentrated on the most important charges, and it has drawn them up in terms that ground them directly on the Constitution. In the Committee's debates, the opposition to impeachment has been carried on at a considerably higher level than any defense that the White House has ever provided for itself over these past two years. In a time of great scandal and public dismay, the televised debates have suddenly shown the country that its political system is working surely, conscientiously and effectively. The idea that all of American politics had fallen into decay has been demonstrated to be manifestly wrong. One element of our government went grievously astray, and now Congress is carefully proceeding to correct these errors.

It follows the American style of politics that the crucial decisions, in defining the articles of impeachment, should be left to the men in the middle who are prepared to make a majority either way. Looking to the swing votes, in this instance, serves the valuable purpose of giving the final word to those members least suspected of partisan interest or personal animus. In recent days this newspaper has argued that the articles of impeachment should include various offenses that the Committee is evidently going to leave out. But we concede that the most serious and substantial issues raised by the President's conduct are covered in Articles I and II, those concerning the Watergate affair and the violations of the presidential oath. If the President is to be tried in the Senate, it must be on charges supported by the widest possible majority of the Committee, and of the citizens whom they represent. Those, clearly, are the charges contained in the first two articles of the emerging bill.

If the President is actually to be removed from office, it is also imperative that the greatest possible number of Americans understand how and why. The Judiciary Committee is being proved abundantly right in opening its sessions to television, so that citizens have been able to follow for themselves each step of its labors. It is equally necessary that citizens throughout the country have similar access to the debate in the House of Representatives and, if it comes to that, the Senate trial.

The debates within the Judiciary Committee have served better than anything over the past two years to focus the tremendous public issues that the accumulated evidence now presents. Ever since the original Watergate burglary, most citizens have been trying to comprehend the case by piecing together fragments of information as each of them came to light. The Committee's long examination of evidence behind closed doors, with the steady dribble of leaks, made it clear that some of the fragments seemed to be incriminating. But it has only been the Committee's open discussions over the past nine days that have made the central question clear and graphic. The record shows that the President and some of his immediate subordinates engaged in a widespread and consistent pattern of overstepping the boundaries that the law sets on their power. The question was whether those offenses constitute a sufficient threat to constitutional government to require the removal of the President. Those who have watched the Committee know not only what it answered, but how it arrived at that answer.

Perhaps, come to think of it, there was still another question—whether the country cared enough about the Constitution, and the limits that it sets on political power, to go through the long and extremely difficult process of enforcing it. The Judiciary Committee has launched Congress well on its way to answering that question as well. It seems scarcely necessary for us to add our view that the case laid out in the Committee is more than sufficient to justify a vote of impeachment by the House and a Senate trial.



# Speculation Turns To the 'Managers'

By Saul Kohler  
Newhouse News Service

With the impeachment of President Nixon by the House of Representatives now rated between "likely" and "assured," speculation has turned toward the group of congressmen who would present the House's case—in effect, the prosecutors—if there is a trial in the Senate.

They are called the "managers," and would be members of Congress, although special counsel John Doar of the House Judiciary Committee probably would be a member of the group.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.) probably will head the managers in presenting the case for removal of the President in the name of the House of Representatives "and of all the people of the United States of America."

"The managers will be selected by the speaker upon the recommendation of the committee chairman and the leadership of the House," Rodino said. "It is much in the nature of a conference committee. But we cannot be anticipatory, we cannot get ahead of ourselves, and we haven't yet reached that point."

It is widely assumed there will be five managers, who will sit together with Doar and associate counsel Albert Jenner, who started the Judiciary Committee hearings

as minority counsel but was shifted by the Republicans to the Doar side when Jenner recommended impeachment.

"Obviously, there will be geographic considerations as well as party lines," said Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-Calif.), the President's principal defender on the Judiciary Committee. "Me? You can count me out. They'll pick the Republican managers from those who voted for impeachment. I believe the President should not be impeached."

If that is the case, the Republican managers well could be Reps. Tom Railsback of Illinois and Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland, with Rep. William S. Cohen of Maine a possibility, since Hogan might decide not to serve.

In addition to Rodino, the betting is on Democratic Reps. James Mann of South Carolina and Don Edwards of California, with Rep. Walter Flowers of Alabama an alternate Southern possibility. Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland also is a likely candidate for manager if Hogan is not selected on the GOP side.

The two female members of the committee, Democrats Barbara Jordan (Tex.) and Elizabeth Holtzman (N.Y.), likewise are highly

regarded, and one of them could be included.

"The object is to get a soft sell over in the Senate," said Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D-Wis.), "just as we have tried to do here. That's what makes Mann so effective, and what would make him a great manager if there is a trial. He speaks softly and says a great deal—and that's what the Senate will want."



Wash. Post Wed July 31, 1974

# Mr. Nixon: Shifting His Strategy

Belatedly aware that their hard-line defense has failed to impede certain impeachment by the House, President Nixon's strategists are moving toward an eleventh-hour tactical shift: a soft-line undermining of the impeachment case's factual foundation for use in the Senate trial.

With pessimism saturating the White House, the enormity of Oval Office miscalculation is sinking in. The Nixon White House, as so often before, completely misread political footprints other politicians understood for months. Mr. Nixon's most trusted supporters in the House have informed him he is irrevocably dead there, an assessment concurred in by presidential assistants.

Thus, the trauma of the nationally televised proceedings has resulted in two White House reassessments: first, Mr. Nixon's strength among House Republicans and Southern Democrats has suddenly evaporated; second, the President's strident counterattack strategy has been exposed as counterproductive.

That means tentative White House strategy at least in the immediate future will be relatively nonflamboyant. By contending the factual case against him is vague, Nixon strategists hope to keep the anti-Nixon margin in the House as low as possible and build a case for the Senate. But there is no longer certainty Mr. Nixon can pick up the one-third plus one votes needed in the Senate.

Such a somber view of Mr. Nixon's prospects resulted from televised proceedings smashing the dream world at the White House. Although an impeachment vote by the House Judiciary Committee has long been expected, the Nixon camp was stunned by its size, the identity of some pro-impeachment Republicans and, particularly, the overwhelmingly favorable impression of the proceedings given the nation over television.

Specifically, the vote for impeachment by Rep. Walter Flowers, an Alabama conservative Democrat, crumpled Nixonite hopes of a steadfast Dixie bloc. "He hurt us bad," admits Rep. G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery of Mississippi, the President's most vocal Southern Democratic supporter. Instead of 40 Southern Democrats supporting him, the President may have only half that number.



United Press International

The Republican situation is worse. House Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona almost surely will vote against impeachment. However, a rising House Republican leader—Rep. Barber Conable of New York, chairman of the GOP policy committee—could start a Republican stampede toward impeachment.

Conable has been shaken by charges that President Nixon tried to subvert the Internal Revenue Service. While believing his upstate Republican constituency opposes impeachment, he is determined to vote strictly on the basis of evidence. If so loyal a Nixon administration supporter as Conable defects, well in excess of 50 Republicans could follow.

This grim prognosis suggests to some presidential aides that fighting impeachment by counterattacking has proved calamitous. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler's rushing from the President's office to damn the Judiciary Committee as a "Kangaroo Court"

was deeply resented by White House colleagues. "We have to keep that (expletive) bigmouth Ziegler shut up," one senior aide told us.

Moreover, some presidential assistants belatedly feel Mr. Nixon's defense should not follow the partisan emotionalism of New Jersey's Rep. Charles Sandman. Their model is the legalistic, reasoned defense by Rep. Charles Wiggins of California.

White House aides privately talking of Mr. Nixon taking national television time to defend himself are hoping he would not follow his normal passions into a tirade against his enemies. Rather, they hope that he would analyze and refute the 50 "incidents" listed by committee counsel John Doar as justifying impeachment. While that will not prevent impeachment by the House, the White House desperately hopes it might help in the Senate trial.

Two other options are open to the President. One is resignation, but scarcely anybody in Congress now

urges that course. For example, Rep. John Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference, was berated last spring when he suggested resignation and will not repeat that recommendation today.

The other option was offered weeks ago by another member of the Republican leadership: Rep. Louis Frey of Florida, chairman of the Research Committee. Frey urged that the President request the House to send articles of impeachment quickly and without debate to the Senate so he might have a fair trial. It was summarily rejected by the White House as a gimmick to take congressmen off the hook, a view that surely remains unchanged.

Time and options are running out in the view of the White House. The projected shift to a primarily legal rather than wholly political defense for the Senate trial may be the best way left open for preservation of the Nixon presidency.



# Judiciary Roll Calls

Amendment by Rep. Ray Thornton to Rep. Robert McClory's proposed Article III of the impeachment resolution:

Yes (24)		No (14)
Donohue (D-Mass.)	Rangel (D-N.Y.)	Conyers (D-Mich.)
Brooke (D-Tex.)	Jordan (D-Tex.)	Flowers (D-Ala.)
Kastenmeier (D-Wis.)	Thornton (D-Ark.)	Owens (D-Iowa)
Edwards (D-Calif.)	Holtzman (D-N.Y.)	Smith (R-N.Y.)
Hungate (D-Mo.)	Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)	Sandman (R-N.J.)
Eilberg (D-Pa.)	Hutchinson (D-Mich.)	Railsback (R-Ill.)
Waldie (D-Calif.)	McClory (R-Ill.)	Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Mann (D-S.C.)	Fish (R-N.Y.)	Dennis (R-Ind.)
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	Butler (R-Va.)	Mayne (R-Iowa)
Seiberling (D-Ohio)	Cohen (R-Maine)	Hogan (R-Md.)
Danielson (D-Calif.)	Lott (R-Miss.)	Froehlich (R-Wis.)
Drinan (D-Mass.)	Rodino (D-N.J.)	Moorhead (R-Calif.)
		Maraziti (R-N.J.)
		Latta (R-Ohio)

## The Impeachment Vote on Article III

Yes (21)		No (17)
Donohue (D-Mass.)	Drinan (D-Mass.)	Flowers (D-Ala.)
Brooks (D-Tex.)	Rangel (D-N.Y.)	Mann (D-S.C.)
Kastenmeier (D-Wis.)	Jordan (D-Tex.)	Hutchinson (R-Mich.)
Edwards (D-Calif.)	Thornton (D-Ark.)	Smith (R-N.Y.)
Hungate (D-Mo.)	Holtzman (D-N.Y.)	Sandman (R-N.J.)
Conyers (D-Mich.)	Owens (D-Utah)	Railsback (R-Ill.)
Eilberg (D-Pa.)	Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)	Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Waldie (D-Calif.)	McClory (R-Ill.)	Dennis (R-Ind.)
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	Hogan (R-Md.)	Fish (R-N.Y.)
Seiberling (D-Ohio)	Rodino (D-N.J.)	Mayne (R-Iowa)
Danielson (D-Calif.)		Butler (R-Va.)
		Cohen (R-Maine)
		Lott (R-Miss.)
		Froehlich (R-Wis.)
		Moorhead (R-Calif.)
		Maraziti (R-N.J.)
		Latta (R-Ohio)

The vote on Rep. John Conyers' proposed article of impeachment on Cambodia bombing:

Yes (12)		No (26)
Brooks (D-Tex.)	Donohue (D-Mich.)	Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Kastenmeier (D-Wis.)	Eilberg (D-Pa.)	Dennis (R-Ind.)
Edwards (D-Calif.)	Flowers (D-Ala.)	Fish (R-N.Y.)
Hungate (D-Mo.)	Mann (D-S.C.)	Mayne (R-Iowa)
Conyers (D-Mich.)	Sarbanes (D-Md.)	Hogan (R-Md.)
Waldie (D-Calif.)	Seiberling (D-Ohio)	Butler (R-Va.)
Drinan (D-Mass.)	Danielson (D-Calif.)	Cohen (R-Maine)
Rangel (D-N.Y.)	Thornton (D-Ark.)	Lott (R-Miss.)
Jordan (D-Tex.)	Hutchinson (R-Mich.)	Froehlich (R-Wis.)
Holtzman (D-N.Y.)	McClory (R-Ill.)	Moorhead (R-Calif.)
Owens (D-Utah)	Smith (R-N.Y.)	Maraziti (R-N.J.)
Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)	Sandman (R-N.J.)	Latta (R-Ohio)
	Railsback (R-Ill.)	Rodino (D-N.J.)

The vote on Rep. Edward Mezvinsky's proposed article of impeachment on the President's taxes:

Yes (12)		No (26)
Brooks (D-Tex.)	Donohue (D-Mass.)	Railsback (R-Ill.)
Kastenmeier (D-Wis.)	Hungate (D-Mo.)	Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Edwards (D-Calif.)	Waldie (D-Calif.)	Dennis (R-Ind.)
Conyers (D-Mich.)	Flowers (D-Ala.)	Fish (R-N.Y.)
Eilberg (D-Pa.)	Mann (D-S.C.)	Mayne (R-Iowa)
Seiberling (D-Ohio)	Sarbanes (D-Md.)	Hogan (R-Md.)
Danielson (D-Calif.)	Drinan (D-Mass.)	Butler (R-Va.)
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# In praise of Southern strength

By Ernest Furgurson

WASHINGTON — THE UNBROKEN consensus here is that the televised impeachment proceedings have done more for the image of the much maligned congressman than anything else lately. From numbers on a score sheet, faceless politicians operating behind closed doors, they have become real to the public. Real, struggling, worrying men.

And among them, one group has distinguished itself most historically.

Of all the country's politicians, those most sneered at elsewhere in the national have been those from the South. Many Americans do not know that the South produces both Christian gentlemen and redneck louts, men who will sacrifice themselves for principle and those who will laugh contemptuously at anyone who does, good politicians and bad.

The good ones are often far above national average. If they are aware of history at all, they know they are the heirs of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

True, the political-spiritual heritage of the South is in the Democratic Party, and for the past 20 years most of the South has started voting for Republican presidents.

But that does not mean that all of the region has forgotten; indeed, some Republicans have maintained since Franklin Roosevelt's time that the Jeffersonian tradition has been abandoned by the Democrats, and some argue that one of its great modern bearers is Richard M. Nixon himself. Mr. Nixon has been saying so on his own behalf since the first time he drew 150,000 Atlantans to Five Points at rush hour, in a campaign 14 years back.

So, in the 1972 presidential election, our current President swept the South, including the 7th district of Alabama with 66 per cent of the vote; the 4th district of Arkansas with 69 per cent; the 4th district of South Carolina with 80 per cent and the 6th of Virginia with 74 per cent.

Normally, that should be a heavy clue to how the congressmen from each of those districts would vote if faced with judging evidence against Mr. Walter Flowers of Alabama spoke of being

unable to sleep lately, and of how "the people that I represent—just as I do, and most Americans—want to support the President." But, he said, "If the trust of the people in the word of the man to whom they have given their highest honor is betrayed, if the people cannot know that their President is candid and truthful with them, then the very basis of government is undermined . . ."

James Mann of South Carolina got 66 per cent of the vote in his district last time, but Mr. Nixon got 80 per cent. Mann spoke of how men in the past had died for our system of government, yet wondered "if the people still do want their elected representatives to fulfill their oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution . . ."

Ray Thornton of Arkansas, like Flowers and Mann a Democrat, said he approached the question "as a matter of law and because I have faith that the people of this country believe in a system of law to which all men are subject . . ."

For Caldwell Butler of Virginia the decision may have been hardest of all. He is a Republican, a long-time Nixon follower, a freshman from a conservative district, and he came here two years ago with just 55 per cent of the vote. All that had to weigh on him. But so did the knowledge that he represents the very Virginia that Jefferson, Madison and James Monroe called home.

He agonized before he decided, but then he spoke strongly. "If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people . . . My present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power. But there is no joy in it for me," he said.

And back home in Roanoke and in Lynchburg, as in Tuscaloosa and Bessemer, Pine Bluff and El Dorado, Greenville and Spartanburg, thousands of people who had voted for both Mr. Nixon and these congressmen were furious. But if they thought hard on it, even they could be proud at the same time. For the men they chose were living up to a tradition too many other Americans have forgotten.

W. N.  
Wed July 31, 1974



nt (AID). There is also discussion of a hopping \$2 billion investment by Ameri-

reorganizing our economy and government."

'Ah! The summer reruns'

## Heirs of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison

# 4 stand-up men from the South

By ERNEST B. FURGURSON

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Ernest Furgurson

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"If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the

## The Detroit News Opinion Page

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Distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate

## Berry's World



"You should try to put it out of your mind. Lots of us didn't make Time's list of young leaders."



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Dear Caldwell,

I put my car in the shop  
for some work - with your  
sticker on - when it came  
back the note had been  
pasted under the sticker of  
one of their employees.

Fred

"MAKE YOUR ESTATE REAL ESTATE"



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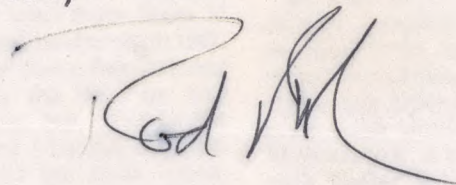
August 2, 1974

Dear Congressman Butler;

I enjoyed our lunch the other day - I hope the enclosed column from the editorial page of today's editions of the Christian Science Monitor indicates how much.

Let's see each other soon. I owe you two things - a lunch and a lot of reassurance about the caliber of contemporary American politicians at their best. I know how to replay the first and hope I can soon. But I'll be damned if I know how you thank a man who reaffirms your faith in the system.

Best,



AUG 5 1974

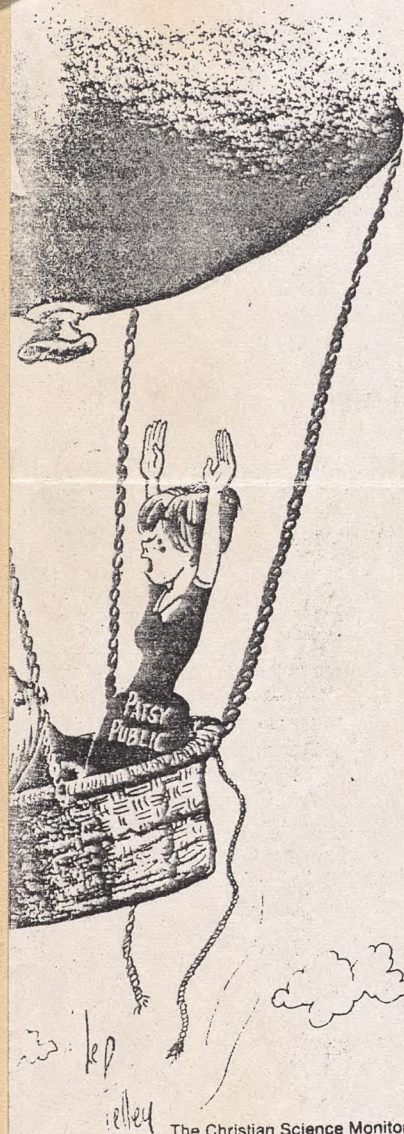
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course. Recession is hard on them. The gap between rich and poor always widens in recession. There is race, too. Today 11 percent

Turkey and Cyprus



better way!"



## re system

L. Strout

You can see this from a new report by the Institute for Research on Poverty (Wisconsin University). The government pays a big amount for welfare, about \$21.8 billion: AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children), medicaid, food stamps, Housing, and SSI — (supplemental security income). Yet aid is distributed with cruel inequality. After it is all spent, some 8.6 million families are still "poor."

(Their income is below \$4,550, which the government equates with poverty for a nonfarm family of four.) These families include 24 million people. Some are chiselers. Some are incapacitated. Some are hard-working people who can't get above the poverty line, try as they will.

There are a lot more near-poor, of course. Recession is hard on them. The gap between rich and poor always widens in recession.

There is race, too. Today 11 percent

## The Lonely Republican

By Roderick MacLeish

Washington

The most moving drama of history is not its acts — the voting of articles for the impeachment of Richard Nixon — but the inner turmoil in the lives of people who participate in the acts. Andrew Johnson escaped conviction. But the career of Republican Sen. Edmund Gibson Ross of Kansas, who by fidelity to principle saved Johnson, was wrecked. That is the drama of an ironic sort.

When, on the evening of July 25, 1974, a forty-nine-year-old Virginia Republican congressman named M. Caldwell Butler looked into the molten eye of the national television cameras and said, "There are frightening implications for the future of our country, if we do not impeach the President of the United States," the drama was not immediately evident.

Most people watching the impeachment inquiry of the House Judiciary Committee that evening were aware that Mr. Nixon's fate in the House depended, to some degree, on how many committee Republicans sided with the Democratic majority in voting to send articles of impeachment to the House floor.

That M. Caldwell Butler might become one of those Republicans was an improbable thing. Mr. Butler represents the Sixth District of Virginia — a long valley sweeping out of the Blue Ridge Mountains with Roanoke as its population center. The sixth has always been a Republican enclave in traditionally Democratic Virginia. When Mr. Butler went from there to the Virginia general assembly in 1962, he was one of only seven Republicans in that body. By the time he was elected to his first, full term in the House in 1972, the Virginia Republicans had captured the state house, one of two Senate seats, and seven out of Virginia's 10 house districts.

Richard Nixon's revival of the national Republican Party was one reason for the Virginia GOP's success and Caldwell Butler knew it — and liked it. He became a Nixon stalwart in the House — with an 80 percent support record for administration proposals — and when Watergate erupted he was inclined to think of it as a smear job on the President by Democrats, liberals, and the press.

His migration from that comfortable, partisan view to the night; two years later, when he told the committee, the nation, and the Sixth District of Virginia that, "I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot

excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand for it" is both complex and simple.

The complexity came in the flood of unorganized but revealing data that poured in upon the committee from tapes and transcripts. The President's tax problems bothered Representative Butler but he doubted they were grounds for impeachment. The use of the Internal Revenue Service to "get" White House enemies deeply disturbed him. He was shocked by Mr. Nixon's broken promise to Henry Petersen — to keep details of the Justice Department investigation secret from potential defendants.

The simple moment came a few weeks before the dramatic night of July 25. At home in Roanoke Butler tried to balance the threat to his long Republican career and his emotional and intellectual ties to his party against the evidence which, to his lawyer's mind, unavoidably pointed to wrongdoing. It didn't work. He decided for impeachment.

To Caldwell Butler it still seems simple. He still supports the Nixon program. He is still a deeply devoted Republican, still a visceral if moderate conservative. One suspects that this amiable, unpretentious man is puzzled by people who believe that he has betrayed his party by succumbing to conclusions about Richard Nixon's stewardship which are, to him, obvious. "The moral issue," he said, "is the difference between me and the White House."

He may be in trouble in the sixth district, especially in its rural reaches. If he is, it will be because those who dislike his leap to a moral conclusion believe that the impeachment issue which wracks this nation is, somehow, a partisan game. Caldwell Butler believes it is a matter having to do with the uses of the power that democracy grants — a question beyond partisanship or ideology.

If Butler's fidelity to his convictions costs him his House seat, he may be able to take compensation from something a fellow House member said about him: "Caldwell Butler represents the genius of our system. Out of all the people picked at random and deposited by fate on the Judiciary Committee, there was bound to be someone as principled as him."

Mr. MacLeish is an author and radio and television commentator for the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

## Readers write

### Turkey and Cyprus



R-T, Sat Aug. 3 1974

# Scott Would Impeach If Case Is Proved

RICHMOND (AP)— Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., said Friday he would vote to remove President Nixon from office if charges against him could be "supported by provable facts."

But he emphasized at a news conference that, thus far, "I don't believe an impeachable offense has been proven." And he expressed doubt that any would be.

Scott, one of the most conservative members of the U.S. Senate, softened his previous insistence that Nixon would never be impeached, let alone convicted in the Senate.

"I believe the House will vote to impeach the President," he said.

And while admitting that it was "pure speculation," he said, "I'd guess the Senate would not vote for conviction."

Scott conceded that Nixon's chances of escaping impeachment "have changed for the worse" in recent weeks and said this was due in part to the emotional atmosphere of the televised meetings of the House Judiciary Committee, which recommended three articles of impeachment.

He said he was not in favor of televising any further impeachment proceedings because it precludes a fair hearing and "brings out the ham" in those taking part.

The senator questioned the objectivity of the Judiciary Committee and suggested that the full House consider the makeup of the committee during its impeachment deliberations.

He said he considered it significant that labor unions had made political contributions totaling \$189,000 to Democratic members of the committee and only \$2,100 to Republican members.

Scott singled out organized labor and the "liberal media" as having contributed to the pro-impeachment climate which he conceded has grown to sizeable proportions in Congress.

The Washington Post, he said, "is slanted throughout."

Scott said he disagreed with the conclusions reached by 6th District Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler who cast votes for two articles of impeachment as a freshman member of the Judiciary Committee.

Asked whether he would help Butler's campaign for reelection, he said, "I would have some hesitancy but that doesn't mean I wouldn't campaign for him" if asked.

On the other hand, he said he already has agreed to work with Rep. Stanford Parris, R-Va., in his campaign for reelection from the 8th District, despite Parris' recent statement that he had some reservations about the propriety of some of President Nixon's conduct.

While insisting that he has seen no "clear and convincing evidence" of any presidential wrongdoing, Scott said, "I'm not suggesting the President hasn't done things he shouldn't have done but they haven't been proven."

The senator said he didn't condone lawlessness at any level but felt that many of the presidential actions under attack "should be considered in

the setting in which they happened."

Referring to protests over the Vietnam War, radical elements threatening violence and the burning of the flag, he said, "The President of the United States has a responsibility to preserve this nation."

"A man should be judged within the framework of the situation as it existed at that time," he added.

Scott said he still felt a majority of Virginians supported Nixon and noted that his mail was running as much as 10-to-1 in favor of the President.

Asked whether Nixon has made any effort to influence his position on impeachment, the senator said, "He hasn't courted me."

Scott said he thought it would be "unwise" for the President to seek a unanimous vote of impeachment in the House in order to expedite a trial in the Senate.

"I think we should follow the normal impeachment process," he said.



# Virginia Delegation Labors Over Impeachment

By WAYNE WOODLIEF

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—U. S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., visited the House floor and cloakroom this week to talk with members of the Virginia delegation about the imminent debate on the impeachment of President Nixon.

"He was just curious as to what the other members thought," said Rep. William C. Wampler, R-9th District, of Bristol, one of the Virginians who discussed impeachment with Scott.

Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, Winchester Republican, said Scott "mentioned that he was going to be in Richmond Friday (for a press conference) and that he was interested in surveying our sentiment on impeachment so that he might reflect, as much as he could, the

## An Analysis

attitudes of the (Virginia) House members."

Don Ruby, Scott's administrative assistant, said the senator had talked informally Wednesday with members of the House delegation "to assess what has happened on impeachment and what may happen in the future."

The decision of Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, the only Virginian on the Judiciary Committee, to vote for impeachment of Nixon for obstruction of justice and abuse of powers has provoked much soul-searching among Butler's Virginia colleagues.

Some delegation members, notably Rep. Joel Broyhill of Arlington, Virginia's senior Republican, have been trying to find grounds for a delegation consensus on impeachment.

Other members think that consensus is impossible on an issue of such grave personal as well as national consequence, and that the delegation probably will split.

The betting among the delegation—and among delegation watchers—is that the split will be at least five votes for impeachment, and perhaps six or even seven if the current impeachment momentum in the House continues.

Butler's strong remarks on impeachment—"I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it; and I cannot and will not stand still for it"—struck a

responsive chord among Robinson, Rep. G. William Whitehurst, R-Va., of Norfolk, and Rep. Thomas N. Downing, D-Va., of Newport News.

Whitehurst hailed Butler's remarks for their power and precision. Downing termed them "magnificent" in a letter he said he wrote Butler "immediately after the speech."

Robinson said Thursday, "I'm sure (Butler) made a conscientious and sincere decision based on his best judgment."

Robinson said, "I hope I will not have to vote for impeachment." He said he is "deeply disturbed" by indications that Nixon misused "the agencies of government, the IRS, the CIA."

Rep. W. C. Daniel, D-Va., Danville Democrat who is an old personal friend

of Nixon and who recently cruised the Potomac with the President and a few other congressmen on the presidential yacht Sequoia, is considered Nixon's staunchest ally in the Virginia delegation.

To a man the Virginia congressmen, except for Butler, say they are uncommitted on impeachment until they hear the evidence for themselves in House debate, which may begin Aug. 12.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel Jr., R-4th District, has been the most deliberate in choosing his words on the issue. He termed Butler a man of "high integrity and conscience" but said, "I don't know that I will respond to the same facts in the same way that he did."

Rep. David E. Satterfield III, D-3rd District, of Richmond has said he

wants to examine the evidence more thoroughly.

Broyhill and Rep. Stanford Parris, another Northern Virginia Republican, have said the same thing. But they have Washington suburban constituencies with rising impeachment fever to consider.

That leaves Rep. Wampler, generally considered the delegation's most vulnerable incumbent in this year's elections.

Wampler said, "This probably will be the most important vote I will ever cast and I suppose in the final analysis I'll decide on the basis of whether to impeach or not to impeach is for the good of the country."

## Court Severs Firms' Ties

A U.S. district court judge in Virginia firms would give up about

## THE ROANOKE TIMES

Friday, August 2, 1974

19

## Butler Mail Now Favors Impeachment

Roanoke Times  
Fri Aug 2, 1974

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—After an initial outburst of vicious telephone calls and strongly worded letters opposing his impeachment stand, public opinion toward Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler seems to have turned decidedly—but not overwhelmingly—favorable.

Butler's staff, which has kept a running total of the mail to his district and Washington offices this week, reported that mail from the district was more than 56 per cent in favor of his proimpeachment stand.

And, said Gail Goodson, Butler's press secretary, mail and telephone calls from the rest of Virginia were slightly more favorable with nearly 59 per cent of the callers and writers registering approval of his vote for two articles of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon.

She said of nearly 1,000 letters and calls received in the first two days this week, 336 district constituents had approved the actions while 262 residents opposed them. From the rest of the state, 236 correspondents and callers favored them while 142 opposed them.

The mail is flowing in from outside Virginia, too, and while the staff is not counting those letters yet, most feel they are running more strongly favorable.

Like a number of members of the Judiciary Committee, Butler and his wife, June, received some obscene and threatening calls. And, like most, he has received at least 50 letters containing stones, a reference to the Biblical admonition, "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone."

Butler doesn't plan to throw them out, however. He's collecting them and displaying them in a vase in his front office.

One woman caller asked for his address so she could send him 30 pieces of silver, apparently relating Butler to Judas. The woman later hedged her bets and sent only a quarter and a nickel. The coins were put into the office safe, aides said.

On the other hand, several writers—from both within and without the district—have requested the addresses of Butler's re-election committee so, they said, they can contribute to his campaign.

But most writers and callers simply express their opinions of the Republican first-termer.

Some of it was short and sweet.

"A combination of conscience and guts," wrote a Roanoke woman.

"Simply wonderful," wrote a 73-year-old retiree who promised campaign help.

"Proud to have you represent us," said a Salem couple.

Others were more wordy, like a four-page letter by a suburban Washington writer. "I might totally disagree with your voting, record . . . but your statement was like a fresh breeze," she said in part.

One Roanoke Valley constituent wrote, "Your statesmanship has reaffirmed my trust in our process of government."

A Lynchburg voter said, "I wish you were wrong... Unfortunately you are correct on every point as I see it."

Said a Covington resident, "You are standing tall and strong."

And then there was the other side.

A Buchanan area couple wrote a curious note. "We are shocked and highly disturbed . . . it is apparent that you have deserted most of your constituents and voted your conscience instead . . ."

And a Roanoker said, "It would seem your announcement was timed and calculated to influence other votes on the committee . . ."

A Lynchburg correspondent was downright incensed and asked Butler to reconsider or else:

"I am through with Representative Butler unless he reverses his position and comes up with an equally dramatic statement in support of President Nixon."

Then there was the Covington writer who summed it up clearly if ungrammatically: "Petty offenses do not make peach-able (sic) offenses."

A Lynchburg writer mourned Butler's stand by writing, "When I watched you voting along with the rag-tag radicals, my heart broke."

And there was this note from a Hot Springs writer who apparently worships the President: "Compared to the other presidents, he is the Prince of Peace."

But many of those who wrote to differ with Butler showed they had retained their sense of humor.

One, for instance, sent him a get well card that said, "Hope you're feeling better soon."



# Censure of Nixon Proposed by GOP

R-T • Aug 3, 1974

(c) 1974, Washington Star-News

WASHINGTON — Republican supporters of President Nixon in the House have devised a last-ditch plan to save the President from impeachment.

Under the plan, the House would censure Nixon for misconduct, but would stop short of impeaching him. Thus, there would be no Senate trial and the President would not be removed from office.

The plan was revealed Thursday by Rep. Delbert Latta, R-Ohio, a member of the Judiciary Committee, who is one of Nixon's most vigorous backers. He said the censure plan is the President's last hope of averting impeachment.

Stiff Democratic opposition to any censure vote has already surfaced, however. Majority leader Thomas O'Neill protested vigorously when Latta proposed in a meeting of House leaders Thursday that the rules for the impeachment debate on the House floor be tailored to allow a censure vote.

At that closed-door meeting, the Democratic and Republican leaders established unofficially the timetable and rules for the floor debate. These are the key features:

—The debate would begin Aug. 19, a Monday, and end with a final vote by Aug. 31, a Saturday.

—55 hours would be allotted for general debate, with each of the 435 house members guaranteed at least five minutes to air his views on impeachment.

—About 32 hours would be set aside for debate focused on the three articles of impeachment approved by the judiciary committee.

—No amendments to the three articles would be allowed, not even the proposed articles which were defeated in the Judiciary Committee.

—Live television and radio coverage of the floor debate on impeachment would be allowed. They daily sessions would last from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

The House Rules Committee will meet Aug. 13 to consider what limitations should be placed on the debate, but the committee is virtually certain to endorse the rules agreed on by House leaders Thursday.

The censure plan is aimed at bringing together Nixon's hard-core supporters and house members who feel the President has acted wrongly but should not be impeached for misconduct.

Latta, who voted against all three articles of impeachment before the Judiciary Committee, said that many members who are now undecided on impeachment may

favor the milder action of a formal censure.

Under the Latta plan, there would be a vote at the end of the impeachment debate on a motion to recommit the articles to the Judiciary Committee and substitute a censure resolution for them on the House floor.

The resolution would not condemn the president for any personal acts of misconduct. It would point out the misconduct of his aides and criticize Nixon for permitting this to happen in the White House.

Rep. Charles Wiggins, R-Calif., who emerged as the President's most articulate backer on the Judiciary Committee, agreed that many House members might prefer censure to impeachment.

"It's apparent that some members would like to express their outrage but wouldn't like to impeach the President," he said in an interview.

"Many Republicans would like to express disappointment with the conduct of the people around Mr. Nixon," he said.

"But they are not willing to say this misconduct rises to an impeachable offense."

Wiggins said that he does not favor a censure resolution.

When Latta asked House leaders to approve a rule allowing a vote on censure, he was greeted with "a storm of protest" from O'Neill, according to Rep. John Anderson, R-Ill., who attended the meeting.

The censure issue will go before the Rules Committee on Aug. 13, and O'Neill "made it clear" that Democrats on that committee will vote against any rule allowing the censure resolution to be raised in the floor debate, Anderson said.

Both Anderson and House minority leader John Rhodes backed Latta in his bid to get a rule allowing a vote on recommitment of the impeachment articles.

But Rhodes said it should not be tied to the censure resolution. He asserted that the censure measure should be voted on separately.

## Nixon Faces Uphill Fight As an 'Underdog': Aide

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — President Nixon was described by one of his spokesmen Friday as "an underdog" in the congressional impeachment move.

Gerald L. Warren, White House deputy press secretary, reading from notes apparently approved by the President, said that Nixon faced an "uphill struggle — it is a political struggle," but that because it was political, the President had a chance to win.

This was an indication that Nixon is preparing to fight the impeachment effort on political grounds. Previously, his spokesmen stressed the evidence and the legal aspects of the case, arguing that when congressmen weighed the evidence, they would vote to acquit the President.

"We recognize the situation as it exists in the House," Warren said, presumably referring to statements by congressional leaders that an impeachment vote was expected. "We face an uphill struggle, but in a political struggle, you have a chance to win."

While the White House was not ready

to concede that Nixon faced defeat in the House, he said, "if you had to make odds, you'd have to put the President in the role of underdog."

The new White House language was interpreted by some observers as an indication that Nixon was resigned to defeat in the House but would try to hold his losses there to a minimum and concentrate on winning in the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is required for conviction and removal from office. The House has for consideration three articles of impeachment recently voted by the House Judiciary Committee.

In any event, Nixon was emphasizing through his spokesmen that he had not given up. Warren denied flatly, as he and other spokesmen have repeatedly, that the President had even given consideration to resigning.

Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said in a brief floor speech that the committee's formal report on the impeachment articles would be sent to the House on Wednesday.



# The Virginian-Pilot

ESTABLISHED NOVEMBER 21, 1865

Page A14

Monday, August 5, 1974

## The Martin Years

Now that Councilman Irvine B. Hill Jr. seems to be the chosen successor to Mayor Roy B. Martin Jr. in September, it may be the proper time to say a few nice things about Mr. Martin. (The appropriate compliments to Mr. Hill must wait until it is made official.)

Mr. Martin was appointed to City Council in 1953 and became Mayor in 1962 upon the retirement of the late W. Fred Duckworth. Mr. Duckworth was, and Mr. Martin soon will have been, Mayor of Norfolk for a dozen years. The history of the making of the new Norfolk, the catchphrase for the remarkable transition from the city of the immediate postwar years to the Norfolk of today, may be subdivided tidily into "the Duckworth years" and "the Martin years."

Mayor Duckworth guided Norfolk's redevelopment, the clearing and tearing down that was the necessary prelude to renewal. Mayor Martin has had the leading role in the rebuilding. And the concrete evidence is everywhere: the airport and the development of Norfolk International Terminals, the bank buildings downtown, the Azalea Gardens, the ballpark, the Chrysler Museum, Old Dominion University. Scope. . . the city has changed spectacularly in the past 25 years.

And for the better. Norfolk prospered under the business leadership Mr. Duckworth and Mr. Martin personified. The fact that "the Administration" has come to the end of the line politically is not a repudiation of the Duckworth-Martin years, but the evolutionary end product of the changes in city politics—a ripening, so to speak.

The incoming City Council (Claude J. Staylor Jr., Dr. Mason C. Andrews, and Mrs. Betty Howell will be replacing Mr. Martin, George S. Hughes, and V. H. Nusbaum Jr.) is likely to speak with seven voices instead of one—the May-

or's—in the old pattern. Mr. Hill will not be a "strong Mayor," as Mr. Duckworth and Mr. Martin were. That will not be a bad thing. But it does not diminish the Martin record to say so.

The achievements of Mr. Martin are recognized widely. He was chosen by his colleagues to be president of the United States Conference of Mayors, an office in which he brought to Norfolk a degree of national recognition. He was honored last January as "First Citizen of Norfolk," an almost belated tribute. (It may be noted in passing that he has earned the casual eminence of first-name recognition too. It is enough to mention "Roy," as it is enough to say

"Henry" or "Mills" or "Sidney.") He deserves especial recognition for the skill and tact that he has displayed as a minority Mayor over the past two years. One of the congratulatory calls Mr. Hill received last week was from Mr. Martin. "He offered to help me all he could in the transition and was extremely kind," Mr. Hill said.

City Council won't be quite the same without Mr. Martin. His presence is practically taken for granted after more than 20 years. But Mr. Martin will be leaving office with a considerable capital of popularity and respect. And when he is gone, the citizens of Norfolk may realize how much he'll be missed.

## A Bonus for Mr. Butler

Even Senator William Lloyd Scott of Virginia, who is normally one of the last to get the word, is conceding now that President Nixon's position has "changed for the worse" in recent weeks. He recognizes that the impeachment of Mr. Nixon is likely to come to a Senate trial, though he—like the rest of the Hon- orables—is being coy how he'd vote.

But Mr. Scott said that he didn't agree with the reasoning of Representative Caldwell Butler, the Republican from Roanoke who voted for two of the three articles of impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee proceedings, and noted that he'd be reluctant to campaign for him this year. Mr. Butler is getting all the breaks lately.

## Picking a Target

Ronald Boone misspoke slightly when he taxed Governor Godwin for the white-over-black composition of the State Crime Commission's jail-study task force.

The 34-member group, organizing in Richmond on Thursday, was startled when Mr. Boone, the editor of the black Richmond Afro-American weekly, was vocally agitated on counting only three other black faces. He had an

arguable point: if strict racial balance had been observed, Virginia's 18 per cent black population would have had a proportional six members on the task force rather than four.

Mr. Boone cited the makeup as "an extension of Mills Godwin's philosophy of keeping black participation in public affairs restricted." At that point he overstepped himself.

Mr. Godwin, a recently converted Republican, has broad appealers as Virginia's Governor. He has a lot of old Democratic friends.

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### Did He Know?

## The Naked Emperor

By ART BUCHWALD

CHAIRMAN: The clerk will read the Articles of Abdication.

Clerk: Resolved, that the Emperor violated his oath of office when he paraded down the streets under a canopy with no clothes on.

That he made false and misleading statements to the effect that he was wearing clothes at the time, and that he was party to a cover-up and interfered in a lawful investigation as to whether in effect he did on said day parade in the nude.

Chairman: Each member of this committee will have five minutes for the purposes of debate only. I recognize the courtier from Grazinda.

Grazinda: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The question we have been asked to vote on today—a question that could affect the empire for generations to come—is did the Emperor know he had no clothes on and what did he do about it.

Let me review the evidence. The Emperor, we can all agree, spent all the taxpayers' money on clothes for himself. He had a coat for every hour of the day. Now from the Emperor's own parchments we know that on June 17 two cheats arrived and claimed they were weavers and that they could make such magnificent clothes that they would become invisible to anyone who was unfit for the office he held.

We know the Emperor ordered a set of robes and gave a great deal of cash in advance to the cheats. The Emperor then sent one of his closest aides to confirm that they indeed were working on his clothes.

When the aide went to see the cheats, he discovered that they weren't wearing anything at all. The aide went back and lied to the Emperor. Then on March 21 the Emperor himself went to the weavers and he saw with his own eyes that there was no cloth; there were no trousers; there was no robe. Did he arrest the weavers? Did he report them to the justice minister?

No, Mr. Chairman. He praised them as two of the finest men he had ever known and he told the country they had woven him a magnificent set of clothes. That, gentlemen, was the beginning of the cover-up; a cover-up that continued until the very day when the Emperor walked

*"The question we have been asked to vote on today—a question that could affect the empire for generations to come—is did the Emperor know he had no clothes on and what did he do about it."*

down our streets in nothing more than his birthday suit.

Chairman: Your time has expired. We will hear from the other side now. The courtier from Tearturnia.

Tearturnia: Mr. Chairman, I can't believe that I have been sitting here for six months and heard the same evidence as my learned friend from Grazinda. If you read the Emperor's parchments as I have done, you can come to only one conclusion. The Emperor was wearing clothes on the day in question.

Now if you follow the story, the Emperor did not take the word of his aide concerning the weavers—he sent another aide and this aide also reported back that the weavers had indeed made a magnificent robe for His Imperial Majesty. Let us remember that at this point in time the Emperor was busy with affairs of state and could not devote time to his clothes. His closest advisers lied to him, but where, where in all the evidence is there anything to indicate the Emperor himself was part of the cover-up?

Now we have been speaking of evidence. The only evidence that the Emperor wore no clothes came from a little boy who was sitting on his father's shoulders as the Emperor went by.

The boy said, and I quote from his testimony, "But he has nothing on." Now anybody can read anything they want into that statement. They can read the Emperor had nothing on his head. They can read he had nothing on for the evening. I defy anyone to show me where the boy said, "He has no clothes on." And even if he did—even if he did, I am asking this august body—are we going to believe the word of a little boy or are we going to believe the word of our Emperor, the leader of the greatest empire in the world. Mr. Chairman, if the Emperor says he had clothes on, it's good enough for me.

Chairman: The hearing is recessed until tomorrow at 10 a.m.

Mon. Aug. 5, 1974



R.T. • AUG. 6, 1979



## Retaliation Feared

# Will Nixon's Legion Shell Its Own Troops?

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

THE HOUSE of Representatives is moving inexorably toward the destruction of Richard Nixon, and some of Mr. Nixon's most ardent supporters are moving, in the same tidal wave, toward the destruction of their own best interests.

Forget Mr. Nixon for the moment. What are these convulsions doing to the Republican party? And what lies ahead for conservative causes?

The 1972 election saw 47.2 million votes cast for the Republican Nixon, 29.2 million for the Democrat McGovern. If these 76.4 million voters constitute a reasonable political universe, we can make some rough extrapolations from the popularity polls. These polls show that about 26 or 27 per cent of the people still stand by the President. Conclusion: Some 20 million voters—call them Nixon's Legion—remain bitterly opposed to the President's impeachment and removal from office.

The figures are rough, but they probably are roughly accurate. A legion of 20 million fired-up voters is a potent political force; and anyone who supposes the President's defenders are not fired up should browse through the mail now flooding Republican offices. The legion sees impeachment as a conspiracy between double-standard Democrats and a double-standard press. These voters have blood in their eyes.

*"The pro-Nixon voters have it within their power, if they choose to exercise that power, to make or break a score of Republican or conservative congressmen this fall."*

The question arises: How will Nixon's Legion expend its political force? These voters have it within their power, if they choose to exercise that power, to make or break a score of Republican or conservative congressmen this fall. By withholding campaign contributions, or by staying home in November, the legion can effectively deny re-election to members of the House who vote in favor of impeachment.

It would not be an easy road, under the best of circumstances, for Republicans in marginal districts this fall. Rightly or wrongly, a president and his party tend to be blamed for economic ills, and such blame rubs off on a party's candidates. Historically, the party in presidential power loses close seats in off-year elections. If one adds to these factors the anger of Nixon's Legion, the problem of a pro-impeachment Republican becomes evident.

Consider, for example, the position of M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia's Sixth District. He is a first-term who won

election in 1972 by 55 per cent of the vote. Or consider the situation of John M. Ashbrook of Ohio's 17th District. He won his sixth term in 1972 with 57 per cent of the vote. Both men are solid conservatives; both are seeking re-election. The arithmetic tells its own story: If the legion abandons these two excellent congressmen, they could be in serious trouble.

Prejudice runs deeper than reason. If it were possible for members of the legion to suspend their pro-Nixon prejudice, and to listen to the cool voice of reason, perhaps they could be persuaded of the political disaster they are courting. Their passionate support of the President can do little for Mr. Nixon now; but if this passion is turned in retribution against such men as Butler and Ashbrook, the result could be a liberal landslide.

This is madness. The leaders of organized labor are licking their chops and looking to November. If 30 or 40 seats in the House change hands, passing from moderate-conservative Republicans to moderate-liberal Democrats, we will approach the "veto-proof" Congress that is the dream of organized labor. The consequences cannot be reckoned in terms of labor legislation alone; the consequences would ripple across the whole surface of congressional power. The legion would lose both the battle and the war. What price passion?

The President's defenders cannot let their anger destroy their common sense. Simmer down, I would say. Sober up! Look ahead! If Mr. Nixon goes down the drain, let him go. But if we have one ounce of political maturity, let us save what is left.

## The Search For an Easy Way Out

By JOSEPH KRAFT

BUSINESS FRIENDS of the President are now beginning to circulate among conservative senators proposals that would allow Mr. Nixon to pay back taxes and quit without further penalty. It is easy to see why.

For short of stepping down, the President has no good choices left. The unanimous Supreme Court decision on the tapes has put him in the position where he either coughs up material nearly certain to be badly incriminating or runs a nearly certain peril of quick impeachment by the Senate.



# Letters

A.T. Thurs. Aug. 8, 1974

## Ex-Nixon Backer Happy With Butler

YOUR EDITORIAL, "Caldwell Butler's Critics," (Aug. 4) has prompted me to write this letter so that you and your readers will know that as one Republican and former chairman of the Rockbridge-Lexington Republican Committee, I feel that Mr. Butler's stand was eminently correct and statesmanlike. It made me proud to be one of his constituents and a Virginian.

When chairman of the local Republican Committee, I supported both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Butler in every way possible and yet last fall I came to the painful decision that Mr. Nixon has let me and the party down as well as the country. I feel that impeachment is inevitable and will be good for the country and the Republican party. We cannot condone the things that Mr. Nixon et al. have been doing in the White House. You don't have to "prove" anything, it has happened and Nixon was President. He is and must be held accountable.

Thank you for your editorial and support of Mr. Butler.

WILLIAM E. BOBBITT  
Rockbridge Baths

### Hats Off!

WHETHER it be on the job, in social activities, recreation, the grocery store or gasoline station, one can't seem to escape the reality of impending impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon. Caldwell Butler has received a great deal of criticism since it became known that he would vote for the article of impeachment against Mr. Nixon.

I think our hats to Mr. Butler should be lifted for his noncompromising stand for good government; not for party government, but for doing the right thing at the right time; not basing his decision on what the public thinks but basing it on

### Write!

Letters are welcome. They must be signed. Please include full address and, for verification only, telephone number. All letters are subject to editing. A 300-word limit may be imposed when demands on the space are heavy.

good sound judgment from the facts which have been presented.

I suppose if the normal individual were tested on his Constitution and governmental procedures with which he should be familiar, very little could be said for him; yet he can say in the same breath that Mr. Butler did the wrong thing.

I believe it is time for the people in this country to wake up, to learn what honest government is, what "by and for" the people really means. I say hats off to Caldwell Butler for the example that he has set for us by using his own mind to carry the heavy decision, and not depending on public pressures or opinion. We elected him for his knowledge and sound judgment, now let's support that knowledge and sound judgment.

LARRY G. DEEL  
Fincastle

### Poor Arguments

MANY OF President Nixon's supporters continually argue against his impeachment on the grounds that among other things "the President ended the war in Vietnam" and "other administrations have been equally corrupt." These arguments weigh against impeachment only slightly, if at all.

Any moderately informed person knows that the war continues in Southeast Asia. President Nixon removed our soldiers, but the killing of civilians and

soldiers in Vietnam continues. Although President Nixon received the credit for bringing our soldiers home, the true reason for this homecoming was the upheaval of the citizens of these United States. In the absence of the almost revolutionary state which existed in this country, our involvement in the war probably would have continued. The President did only that which we demanded.

The following example demonstrates the absurdity of the second argument used by Nixon supporters. Just because some criminals escape capture after committing murder does not mean that those who rob banks and are caught should not be prosecuted. Likewise, if our President is caught robbing citizens of the liberties guaranteed them by our Constitution, he should not go unpunished.

Even if other administrations have been equally corrupt (which I seriously doubt), this does not excuse President Nixon of wrongdoing. We are living in the present, not the past, and if my President (for whom I voted) cannot faithfully and honestly execute his duties as President of the United States, then he should be impeached and removed from office.

STEPHEN RAGSDALE  
Blacksburg

### Saved Buffalo

I WAS enjoying your paper this morning (July 28) and especially the article about buffalo as I farm in Orange County. I do see one misstatement: "The federal government took emergency action to save them from extinction." Buffalo were saved from extinction by "Buffalo" Jones' roping some calves and rearing them in captivity.

JOHN T. WOODRUFF  
Somerset



## Others Say

### A Bonus for Mr. Butler

From the Virginian-Pilot

Even Senator William Lloyd Scott of Virginia, who is normally one of the last to get the word, is conceding now that President Nixon's position has "changed for the worse" in recent weeks. He recognizes that the impeachment of Mr. Nixon is likely to come to a Senate trial, though he—like the rest of the Honorables—is being coy how he'd vote.

But Mr. Scott said that he didn't agree with the reasoning of Representative M. Caldwell Butler, the Republican from Roanoke who voted for two of the three articles of impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee proceedings, and noted that he'd be reluctant to campaign for him this year. Mr. Butler is getting all the breaks lately.



### Do You Dig It?

## To Garden or Not To Garden

By GUY FRIDDELL

HERE'S A WONDERFUL story, said my wife, about the custodian of First National Bank who has planted a little garden on a parking lot in downtown Norfolk.

This could be the trend the planners have been looking for, I said, people in the overcrowded suburbs moving back downtown for space to plant gardens.

The story, she went on, says that the proposed Norfolk Gardens project for a greater downtown apparently won't include the custodian's garden.

If it does, I said promptly, cancel Norfolk Gardens.

You don't favor Norfolk Gardens? she asked.

I just can't comprehend it. It's too vast, like the cosmos. But I can understand the custodian's expressing himself, no easy feat these days, downtown or anywhere else.

I'm glad you approve, she said, because he says all of us could have gardens, but some are just too lazy and want hand-me-down from other people's gardens.

"There are those, a growing number, who plant gardens, and then there are others, a hardy few, who must ooh and ah over how the gardens grow."

It's a lot deeper than he supposes, I said.

You mean you're not going to plant a garden?

I can't plant a garden, I said. Nothing would please me more than to get out and work my fingers in the soil, as they say, but I have to restrain myself for that is not my lot in life.

There are those, a growing number, who plant gardens, and then there are others, a hardy few, who must ooh and ah over how the gardens grow.

Gardens have an untidy way of producing more than their creators can eat, and if I was out selfishly working in my own garden, who would be around to take up the slack and commend my gardening neighbor on his handiwork? We also serve as Milton said, who only stand and eat.

I SEE a lot of pious headshaking about campaign practices—but after two years of Watergate I still haven't seen any political reform come out of our Democratically-controlled Congress. And I hear a lot of criticism concerning inflation but have yet to hear of Congress putting an honest lid on government spending.

Isn't it time for the Democrats to stop playing politics and start doing something for the people who voted them into office?

F.A. KUMMER

Roanoke

### Fatal Step

BEING THE independent-Republican I am, I can hardly conceal the surprise that Butler has provided me with. His denunciation of Nixon is perhaps a demonstration of his two-timing, two-faced tactics in the game of politics. His little game (I hope) may come to an end, hopefully to a Republican who is dedicated to justice for all.

I detest the thought of speaking against a man who is supposed to represent the Republican party and the fine people of his district. But when he starts to use the same game plan as the Democrats, it makes you wonder.

To me, Butler is no longer representing the people, but he seems to be more representative of his Democrat colleagues, his wife (and her stupid book), and the family dog.

"Certainly the job isn't that good that you want to compromise yourself on what you think is right," is about the sloppiest excuse Butler could dig out of the mud to cover his actions. If he can't see himself clear to support Nixon, a man who brought home the POWs, ended a Democrat war, reconstructed detente, and who was the driving force in the

### Write!

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peace reached in the Middle East, then maybe Butler is with the wrong party.

For redemption, Butler should change his attitude. Next, he should institute an impeachment drive for Rodino, Mills, Flowers, and all the other Democrat liars.

MELVIN QUESENBERRY

Willis

### New Jersey Salute

AS ALWAYS, in times of stress, heroes emerge who sustain the greatness of our country.

During the House impeachment proceedings, your Congressman Caldwell Butler has emerged 10 feet tall. His intellectual courage and sense of decency stand unequaled.

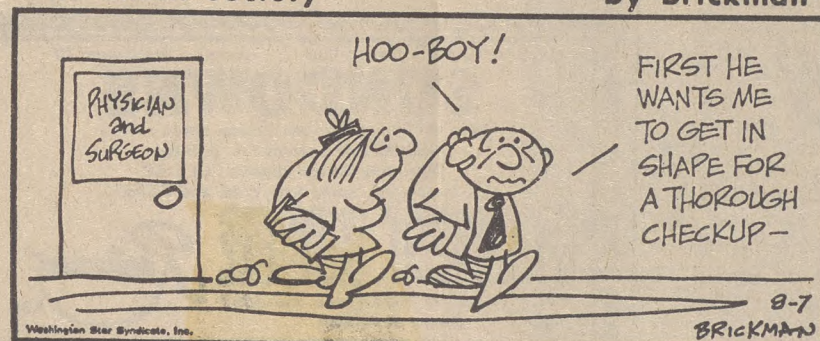
We from New Jersey salute and congratulate you; and hang our heads in shame at the standards of conduct condoned and defended by our own Congressmen Maraziti and Sandman.

FREDERICK F. ROBEY

Kinnelon, N.J.

### the small society

by Brickman



R.T. Wed Aug 7 1974



# Pity for Pat unwanted, but abounding

If anything at all nice comes of this presidential impeachment thing, it will be the almost universal concern and sympathy expressed daily and sincerely for Mrs. Nixon, the once-plastic Pat, the fixed smiler, the former possessor of the "respectable Republican cloth coat."

Compassion for this woman, this wispy, wiry, brushed and creamed and immaculate woman, has become a surging groundswell across the country; one of the more gentle and temperate reactions to the machinations of Nixonian presidency. And while she would not seek a shoulder to cry on, nor is she, apparently, the sort to turn termagant and vindictive, one would hope she realizes the outreach of people in her behalf, their genuine regret that she has been brought down in disillusionment, bitter disappointment, even shame in events which have shaken the national order of things.

Most people, and certainly not I, do not know the almost-too-perfect Pat Nixon who has smiled so sweetly in years past and has done what was expected of her with the apparent attitude of "I know I'm slightly out of place, but I'll do my best." The run-of-the-mill "we" have never seen her in jeans, say, rambling one of her beaches, perfectly-groomed strawberry hair flying in the wind, feet sandaled, enjoying.

We don't know much about her at all, this person who has gazed with dutiful adoration at her husband in his speechmaking and public appearances, who has trailed along in his wake, talking or applauding as if on cue, and now sent into seclusion with the iron heel of defeat ready to mark her as well as her husband. It's a pity, people say. And they care.

## Something to go on

Yet some who have a passing acquaintance say not to count Pat out. "She's strong," says Mrs. Linwood Holton who was a White House luncheon guest the day after she became the First Lady of Virginia. "She's not the sort who would fall apart in this crisis," says Mrs. Holton who has huddled many times with Mrs. Nixon and other political wives while their husbands were "off in the corner talking business."

And Mrs. Caldwell Butler, whose husband played a



**Mary  
Bland  
Armistead**  
T\*G\*I\*F\*

decisive role in Nixon's current crisis through his House Judiciary Committee decisions, says she has found Pat Nixon a "calm" person who "has withstood a terrible time up to this point, so it's my guess she'll carry on."

Pat herself has been quoted as saying, "I never relive, even in my thoughts, my life." Behind Richard Nixon, she has withstood each obstacle he has encountered and overcome: the 1952 "slush fund" charge, his humiliating defeat for the California governorship, the 1958 terror in Venezuela when a mob attacked the then vice president's motorcade in the streets of Caracas. Pat always smiling; fixedly, bravely, all pink and gold and rosy. Pat the loyal. Pat the reluctant to have her husband re-enter politics after his 1962 curtain speech to the press: "You won't have Nixon to kick around any longer . . ." "She's gracious," says Jinks Holton, "but always in the background to her husband. She's the kind who'd believe him right when he said 'I'm right.' She's the kind of backup any man would like to have."

## Hard times old story

And Pat has said the hardships of her younger days have molded her thinking. "We always worked hard," she has said of her days after her father was injured in a Nevada mining accident and the family moved to a California vegetable farm. She worked hard in the fields,

she has said, and later as a secretary, teacher, store clerk, movie extra. Pat Ryan. Pretty. Irish. Shy.

And she, as far as is publicly known, has continued in that dutiful role after marriage to Richard Nixon and politics. People have tried to redo this woman; to "warm up" her image; to "better project her." But curiously she has remained Pat Ryan in public, with no affectations born of victories at the polls. She has been criticized by publicity-minded fashion experts for wearing "ghastly bright lipstick," no eye makeup, constricting clothes. And Pat said no thanks; "I would never want to be among the Ten Best Dressed. I think it's very important to represent American women ..."

She did, however, discard the figurative Republican cloth coat for more stylish apparel after she got to the White House, but her manner remained unchanged. She created a good feeling. "Marvelous with people," according to Jinks Holton. "Lovely, smiling all the time," says June Butler. At this fateful moment in the nation's political history, no one can predict what is next for Pat Nixon. But her friend Jinks Holton says, "If the President ends up without a job, it would not be beneath her dignity to go back to teaching." And that says a lot.

*\*Thank Goodness It's Friday*

## EASY ETIQUETTE

BY JEANNE HARRIS



Never stub out your cigarette on your dinner plate. It not only looks unappetizing, it smells obnoxious.

## LOSE WEIGHT OR MONEY BACK

ODRINEX contains the most effective reducing aid available without prescription! One tiny ODRINEX tablet before meals and you want to eat less - down go your calories - down goes your weight!

Thousands of women from coast to coast report ODRINEX has helped them lose 5, 10, 20 pounds in a short time - so can you. Get rid of ugly fat and live longer!

ODRINEX must satisfy or your money will be refunded. No questions asked. Sold with this guarantee by



EVERY DAY  
IS SAVINGS DAY -  
ON EVERYTHING  
AT REVCO

W. N. Sat. Fri. Aug. 8, 1974



# Butler unsure of future moves

Fri. Aug. 9, 1974

By JACK BETTS  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler today gave indications that he might consider supporting further actions in the case of former President Richard Nixon, who resigned at noon today.

Butler said he was "going to think about it for awhile. I will have to see what develops."

While Butler did not say he would favor prosecution or further action, he also refused to reject any possible moves against Nixon.

A member of the House Judiciary Committee who supported articles of impeachment, Butler and the 37 other members of the impeachment panel will be facing a varied array of alternatives in the coming weeks.

Those alternatives include:

- Granting a sense of Congressional resolution of immunity prosecution for Nixon from federal prosecution
- Continuing with the impeachment process in the

See BUTLER, Pg. 18, Col. 3

## Butler unsure of move

From Page 15

House and Senate, a move for which there is precedent.

- Sending the committee's final impeachment report to the full House for a vote of acceptance or approval.

- Some other official finding of fact with regard to the ex-president's guilt or innocence in the Watergate affair.

- Approving a resolution instructing special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski proceed as he sees fit in the Watergate investigation.

Butler said he would "consider whatever options are available to us, but I'm not satisfied that Congress has any particular authority outside of the impeachment power."

The 6th District Republican watched Nixon's resignation speech alone, except for a reporter, at his McLean home.

His wife, June, and children were in Roanoke.

He later described the speech as "dignified," and "a graceful exit. It's what we were entitled to expect from a resigning president."

He also said that the Judiciary Committee should be able to move more quickly in the confirmation of a new vice president than it did nearly nine months ago in the confirmation of Gerald Ford.

"After all," Butler said with a grin, "we've had a lot of experience at that."

Butler refused to respond to a comment made last week by U.S. Sen. William L. Scott, R-Va., that he (Scott) would be "hesitant" to campaign for Butler after Butler had announced he would vote to impeach.

Butler said, "I'm not going to discuss my campaign plans before I decide what they are. But I've never had a falling out with Bill Scott. I was aware of his views and he was aware of mine. And I've got no problem with him."

E ON



# Letters

A.T. - Aug 13, 1974

## Kilpatrick and Right To Work

JAMES J. Kilpatrick's column July 21, suggesting there is something anti-civil rights about my representation of 10 unions in their suit against the Right to Work Legal Defense and Education Foundation overlooks the major premise of that suit.

The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, the so-called "Landrum-Griffin law," forbids interested employers, directly or indirectly to finance lawsuits by members against their unions. A number of unions which have been the target of member litigation financed by Right to Work groups received information that the bulk of financing of those groups come from interested employers and they brought suit to stop the illegal harassment they were undergoing.

Mr. Kilpatrick's column suggests no theory upon which employers should have been allowed to do indirectly (i.e., use the Right to Work Foundation to finance suits by members against unions) what they were obviously forbidden to do directly. All the unions are trying to do by their suit is enforce the law exactly as it is written.

If Mr. Kilpatrick's real point is that this provision of Landrum-Griffin is wrong and employers should be permitted to finance suits by members against their unions, that is a matter better addressed to Congress. I would submit, however, that Congress was right in what it did. The whole history of labor relations in this country has been one of

by Brickman



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getting employers out of union affairs and leaving that to the workers themselves. History has demonstrated this to be sound public policy from the long-past days of the yellow-dog contract and the labor injunction. It seems somewhat ironic for anyone to be suggesting that Landrum-Griffin was too pro-labor, especially in applying so ancient a principle as keeping employers out of union affairs.

I have a challenge for Mr. Kilpatrick. I believe that trade unions, like corporations and other large bureaucrats, do have built-in anti-democratic tendencies and that efforts must continually be made to assist the democratic reform elements in every union. That is why I took the cudgels for the reform group in the United Mine Workers and that is why I am today working for the reform group in the United Steel Workers and other unions.

If Mr. Kilpatrick believes in American trade unions, he will help those of us who have tried to keep them democratic. Or he can go on and continue writing in support of the Right to Work groups who are openly out to weaken and destroy the union movement. I hope Mr. Kilpatrick will join with those of us who seek to build a more democratic and thus more effective trade union government.

JOSEPH L. RAUH JR.

Washington

### Respect Him!

I HOPE that all of you, those who agreed and those who disagreed with Caldwell Butler's decision, respect him. And perhaps feel as I do that here is a man who is worthy; a seeker of truth. His agony was evident.

I envy your opportunity to vote for such a person. He has certainly increased my respect for the House of Representatives. I can now say with more conviction, "That's not true! Not all politicians do that!" I salute and thank you for your choice to the House.

POLLY MOI

Cincinnati

### Barbarism

AS A NATIVE of the Shenandoah Valley and a 1954 graduate of Roanoke College, I was saddened to read in Time magazine of the vicious and obscene calls received in the home of Rep. Butler. It's painful to realize, that among the lovely people of the Roanoke Valley, there dwell barbarians.

GLENN N. WILL

Washington

### School Vandal

Christian Science Monitor

Just 500 years after the first battle of Shrewsbury, the British town's namesake in Massachusetts is fighting another battle with a new weapon. It is the battle against school vandalism, which has cost American urban areas at least \$70 million a year since 1960.

To solve its part of the problem the Shrewsbury school committee has put a twist on fitting the punishment to the crime—and will reward students to the degree that vandalism does not take place. In other words, a high school "vandalism fund" of \$125 a month will be used to repair vandalism damage—and any money left over will go to student activities. The less damage, the more dough.

The Shrewsbury reward may seem a small expedient to give students an incentive to join the battle against vandalism. But it could be a step toward more fundamental progress by signifying an attitude that recognizes and welcomes students' participation in maintaining the schools that serve them.



# Letters

R.T. - Aug 13, 1974

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The Shrewsbury reward may seem a small expedient to give students an incentive to join the battle against vandalism. But it could be a step toward more fundamental progress by signifying an attitude that recognizes and welcomes students' participation in maintaining the schools that serve them.



# Va. lauds choice of Rockefeller

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

Nelson Rockefeller's nomination to be vice president appears popular with Virginia Republicans, judging from scant comment available today.

"An excellent choice," said William B. Poff of Roanoke, 6th District Republican chairman.

"A really good move," said Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of the

6th Congressional District.

"Acceptable," said a spokesman for Gov. Mills E. Godwin. The governor himself was on vacation and not available for direct comment.

But the spokesman noted that Godwin has on several occasions said Rockefeller would be acceptable to him for the No. 2 spot.

The spokesman cited the Rockefeller family's role in restoring Williamsburg. The

restoration, which has made Williamsburg one of the nation's top tourist attractions, cost in the neighborhood of \$80 million.

"Terrific," said Mrs. Mammie Vest. "I'm just ecstatic."

Mrs. Vest, a former president of the Roanoke Republican Women's Club, a delegate to the 1972 Republican National Convention in Miami Beach and long active in other party work, added:

"I think we're really going to put it back together again."

Robert A. Garland, who headed Rockefeller's drive for the GOP presidential nomination in Virginia in 1964, said that Rockefeller is the best of all those mentioned for the job.

"I'm glad the President put aside politics to pick the best man," said Garland. He noted Rockefeller's experience in government dates back to the

days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Garland recalled that Rockefeller attracted a huge crowd at a reception at Hotel Roanoke in 1963. The former New York governor came here shortly after he married for the second time.

Butler said that if Rockefeller is confirmed, "I should think his age would eliminate his candidacy for the presidency."

He added:

"I think Rockefeller will bring a lot of standing, a lot of status, to the job that a less prestigious person might not have."

As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, Butler will be one of those considering the confirmation of Rockefeller. Butler was one of those voting for the confirmation of Gerald Ford when he won overwhelming committee approval for vice president.

Butler said it is important that the President "have someone he can work with, to bring balance to the leadership and handle the presidency if that circumstance should develop."

"I want to support him (Rockefeller) if I possibly can and certainly nothing has come to our attention to indicate differently," Butler said.

## The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Tuesday, August 20, 1974

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# Letters

R.T. Aug 18, '74

## Justice Still Awaits Mr. Nixon

THE WATERGATE affair should not end with Richard M. Nixon's resignation speech. As the evidence has come to light from within the walls of the White House (especially the recent 64 tapes, some of which are very damaging to Mr. Nixon's position of innocence), Mr. Nixon's abuse of the power of the presidency, and participation in the coverup have become very obvious.

Mr. Nixon has chosen the easy way out in order to save his own skin, that which is left of it. There has been strong indications that the outcome of a vote in the House of Representatives, later this month, would have been about 2-to-1 in favor of impeachment. And conviction in the Senate was imminent, as Mr. Nixon learned Wednesday from friends. They told him he could count on about 15-20 votes in his favor in the Senate in his trial. And with the recent Harris Polls showing only about 23 per cent of the people standing behind Richard Nixon, Mr. Nixon chose the resignation route realizing doom otherwise.

In Mr. Nixon's speech he said he could no longer conduct the duties of the office without a "base" in Congress, which he said was no longer there. This is the biggest farce ever. Mr. Nixon has really resigned not to save the country from the impeachment ordeal, but because he had very little hopes of acquittal in the Senate. If he had not resigned the Congress would have ousted him anyway. You can be sure that if he was innocent of the charges, and the evidence certainly proves otherwise, he would have stayed in office and fought it out. Consequently Mr. Nixon has admitted his guilt in his own little way.

All in all it is time for the country to stand up and take action against Mr. Nixon. He is not above the law (as Congress would have proved by impeachment and conviction) and we must prove this by having him tried and convicted for criminal actions as a citizen in the United States.

No we should not leave him alone! He

has done what no man has ever attempted and we must deal harshly (as is being done with almost all of his associates) with Richard Nixon so as to set an example. He has knowingly committed high crimes and misdemeanors in office. As a lawyer he should know what is law and what is not, and his cry of "I did it in what I thought to be the national interest" is even more of a farce. Richard M. Nixon commonly known, and rightfully so, as Tricky Dick was the biggest immoral political crook America has had in the office of the presidency, and hopefully the last.

MICHAEL HUEGLIN

Blacksburg

### Free People

OUR CONSTITUTION has been ratified by the Supreme Court, Congress and our President.

Those who would destroy us and bury the basic tenet of our Constitution, that each person is born sovereign, have good reason to re-evaluate their chances.

By retaining control of and responsibility for our personal sovereignty when we adopted the Constitution which provides us the best government ever established by humans, we provided for our survival as a free people.

I am an American and proud to be! Meet you at the voting booth.

HUGH D. DUDLEY

Fayetteville, N.C.

### Straddling

MR. M. Caldwell Butler can now get down off the political rail fence he has been straddling.

L.B. TUGGLE

Roanoke

### Write!

Letters are welcome. They must be signed. Please include full address and, for verification only, telephone number. All letters are subject to editing. A 300-word limit may be imposed when demands on the space are heavy.

### The Other Victims

THE NIXON resignation has brought forth the lament that there should be no feeling of elation or joy over same. No one should disagree with this position, but it is ironic when voiced by conservatives.

One of the basic differences in philosophy between conservatives and liberals is that the conservative's hostility to change blinds him to the need for "without undue delay" in the continued process of updating human relations in today's rapidly changing society. They remain prone to seeing recipients of needed welfare programs as bums, and show little concern for clanging prison gates.

Meanwhile, the liberal sees the need for a program of continued change in human relations, but most important he finds no joy or elation when any person becomes a victim of his errors or misdeeds, be he the highest or the lowest in our society.

The above is not meant to be a condemnation because, hopefully, out of this self-induced nightmare will come an outpouring of caring, compassion, love and understanding amongst all Americans.

It is most important that we not forget the other less fortunate victims—those who have, or will, face imprisonment.

ELIZABETH E. LYERLY

Roanoke





## Impeachment panel

# Portions of report challenged

WASHINGTON (AP) — Ten House Judiciary Republicans who contend former President Richard M. Nixon's own Watergate cover-up disclosure was the only hard evidence against him say there could be more on the Sept. 15, 1972, White House tape.

The Republicans say in the final House impeachment report released on Thursday that there is no evidence to corroborate former White House Counsel John W. Dean III's story that Nixon instructed him to

obtain tax audits on Democratic contributors.

But they add their view is subject to change if new evidence "such as is suspected to be contained on the 13-minute Sept. 15, 1972 tape segment, should come to light."

That segment of tape was turned over to Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski this week, according to the Washington Star-News.

Dean testified Nixon told him on that day that then-Treasury

Secretary George P. Shultz should help him obtain the tax audits from the Treasury's Internal Revenue Service.

Dean testified that he interpreted Nixon's comment as meaning that even though the IRS and Shultz had already refused to audit a list of Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern's contributors, Dean should go back and try again.

But the 10 Republicans said the Judiciary Committee was wrong to list the charge as an impeachable offense last month without corroborating evidence they said is suspected to be on the Sept. 15 tape.

The Republicans' minority views were part of a 523-page official report laying out the Judiciary Committee's case for and against the three impeachment articles it voted against Nixon.

The concise summary of evidence was to be the handbook for historic House action to impeach the former President until his Aug. 9 resignation halted impeachment proceedings.

The 38-member committee unanimously concludes in the report that Nixon was a conspirator in the Watergate cov-

er-up and should have been impeached if he had not resigned — but it agrees on little else.

The 28-member majority report concludes that Nixon's Aug. 5 disclosure that he approved an effort to curb the first FBI Watergate investigation only confirms committee evidence that "from the beginning the President knowingly directed the cover-up of the Watergate burglary."

It contends that during that cover-up he made 22 false or misleading public statements "as part of a deliberate, contrived, continued deception of the American people."

It concludes that in violation of his oath of office and the Constitution Nixon "repeatedly and wilfully" abused his powers by his aides' misuse of the IRS, his authorization of wiretaps against newsmen and government officials, his creation of the plumbers unit and his failure to act against subordinates who committed perjury and obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up and other matters.

But the 10 Republicans' minority report discounts nearly all of that as either hearsay or proof that reprehensible acts were committed by Nixon's aides but not by Nixon himself.

## Butler agrees generally with report

By WAYNE WOODLIEF  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, the only Virginian on the House Judiciary Committee, agrees "in substance" with the committee's final report on the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon.

But Butler, and several other Republican members of the committee who voted for the impeachment, emphasized in concurring and additional views to the report that they don't "agree to every point" in it.

Butler and nine other Republican members contend that the enactment of impeachment Article III—which cited Nixon for contempt of Congress for failing to answer committee subpoenas—would be dangerous a

pure exercise of raw legislative power."

That statement is contained in the final report, which was made public yesterday. Nixon's resignation made further impeachment proceedings unnecessary.

Butler voted with the committee majority for the first two articles of impeachment, charging Nixon with involvement in the Watergate cover-up and with abuse of presidential power.

The Roanoke Republican said during the impeachment debate that "if we fail to im-

peach we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people."

Several committee members filed additional views on the impeachment issue, some of them filed individually. Butler, aligned with other members in joint statements.

He and five other Republicans who voted for the first two articles wrote: "We agree in substance with this report as it relates to those two articles... suffice it to say that we do not necessarily agree

that there is clear and convincing evidence to support every conclusion contained in the report..."

Butler and two Republicans, Tom Railsback and Harold Froelich, and one Democrat, Walter Flowers, concurred generally with the report's minority views against Article III. Butler then joined nine Republicans in a more specific criticism of that article.

They also cited the committee's failure to seek either a court ruling on the subpoena issue or a contempt of Congress citation.

## Republicans Planning Butler's Campaign

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

LEXINGTON—Watergate and the resignation of former President Nixon were mentioned only in passing here Saturday as the 6th District Republican Committee planned an all-out re-election campaign for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler.

District GOP Chairman William B. Poff, Roanoke, conceded there are a "few scars" because Butler, as a member of the House Judiciary Committee, voted for the first two articles of impeachment.

But the party leadership showed so signs of apprehension as it went ahead with the bread and butter details of planning the fall campaign.

Butler was not at the meeting. Poff told the committee Butler will stay in Washington until Congress adjourns—that he will "be a weekend gladiator" until then.

But two midweek fundraisers were planned.

House Minority Leader John Rhodes, R-Ariz., will be the celebrity attraction at a reception Sept. 4 at the Ingleside Inn in Staunton—an event announced last week.

And Rep. Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell, R-N.C. will be the attraction at another Butler campaign reception Sept. 27 in Lynchburg.

GOP dinners with Butler as the speaker were scheduled for Sept. 19 at High Street Baptist Church in Roanoke and Oct. 19 at Lord Botetourt High School at Daleville.

The GOP leadership appeared unconcerned about the challenge of Roanoke Sheriff Paul J. Puckett, the Democratic candidate, with the emphasis being put on rolling up a big majority for Butler in the four-way House race. Some members said they would not be surprised if American Party candidate Warren Saunders does not run second.

"I think the Republican party has weathered the storm (Watergate) with dignity," Ray Humphrey, a Washington political consultant retained by Butler, told the district committee.

Humphrey, who also is a consultant in Rep. William C. Wampler's re-election

campaign in the southwest's 9th District, formerly was with the GOP National Committee.

Humphrey told the committee that in the 1,457 precincts in Butler's district there is an average of 523 adults who are not registered to vote.

Schools to train GOP workers to get new voters registered and then get them out election day were scheduled for Sept. 13 in Staunton, Sept. 14 in Lynchburg and Sept. 15 in Roanoke.

Humphrey said there is no such thing, technically, as a national or state election—that elections are won in precincts and "if you win enough precincts you win the election."

## Youth Dies After Crash

A Roanoke County teen-ager died Saturday of injuries he received early Friday in a motorcycle accident.

Blake Brown, 17, of the 3200 block of Pineland Road, SW, died of head injuries, according to hospital authorities.

He was injured shortly after midnight Friday on Garst Mill Road, SW, when a motorcycle on which he was a passenger wrecked on a curve just south of Sans Souci apartments, said Roanoke County sheriff's deputy Jack McCorkle Jr. Brown was not wearing a helmet, McCorkle said.

The operator of the motorcycle, David McClung, received an abrasion on the arm, McCorkle said. McClung recently moved here from Iowa.

McClung told McCorkle the wreck occurred when the headlights of an oncoming car blinded him.

The death is believed to be the first motorcycle-related death on a public highway in the Roanoke Valley this year, according to an official of the safety council.



8/26/74

Mr. B -

My former employer at the newspapers, Carter Glass III, brought the attached page from the National Review to me. Don't know whether or not you have seen it -- thought you might find it interesting. Your name seems to be popping up in all sorts of places since your TV exposure!

hd/

conservative ignorance. Mr. Butler's ADA rating in the 93rd Congress was unambiguous. Zero.

Speaking in the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings, Mr. Butler said this:

For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the administration of the government of the United States by the other party.

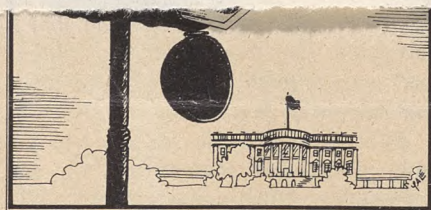
And somehow or other we have found the circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every succeeding national campaign.

But Watergate is our shame. Those things happened in the Republican Administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or another owed allegiance to the Republican Party.

We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our house. And it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up.

There. Someone finally said it.

For more than a year now George Bush, the amiable and tireless and public-spirited Texan who heads the Republican National Committee, has been criss-crossing the nation to say what any head of the RNC would have to say, but what is, in my judgment, a



the misdeeds, but the Republican Party has no responsibility for "the Administration." This path is short, but unpromising. The long path is as follows:

First, one must argue that the misdeeds generally referred to under the umbrella label "Watergate" fall neatly into two unrelated categories. The first category is misdeeds (e.g., the Watergate break-in, violations of campaign financing laws, illegal sabotage of Democratic campaigns) done by employees of the Committee to Reelect the President (CREP) and this organization was not meaningfully connected with the Administration. Second, one must argue that the second category (e.g., the burglary at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist) was not really a misdeed because it was done in order to enhance national security.

Americans who have done their homework can judge the strength of this two-pronged argument. Republicans who do not adopt the two-pronged argument are apt to be at least susceptible to Mr. Butler's argument.

Brooks of Texas—voted for impeachment.

The House leadership—principally Speaker Carl Albert and Majority Leader Thomas "Tip" O'Neill—are going to do everything in their power to get a full House vote on impeachment soon, probably by Friday, August 23. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield is determined to finish the trial before the election in order to avoid having any defeated lame duck senators voting on Mr. Nixon's fate.

Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski will spend many August hours in Judge John Sirica's courtroom raising dust about the tapes that turned out not to exist or to have suspiciously convenient (for Mr. Nixon) gaps and hums and things. That will not help Mr. Nixon. On September 9 the Watergate coverup trial of Mr. Nixon's indicted co-conspirators will begin, and portions of this latest batch of tapes—those that the Supreme Court ordered Mr. Nixon to surrender—will be used in open court. That will not help Mr. Nixon. By then even defendants John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman probably will feel that nothing they say—or refuse to say—can save Mr. Nixon from Senate conviction, so they may plea bargain. That will not help Mr. Nixon.

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# Our House

## Capitol Issues

GEORGE F. WILL

**M.** CALDWELL BUTLER. A strangely evocative name. Sounds like the name of a Civil War general, CSA. Summons echoes of cavalry hoofbeats in the Shenandoah Valley. Mr. Butler, 49 (AB, University of Richmond, Phi Beta Kappa; LLB, University of Virginia Law School; member and former vestryman, St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke) is the congressman from the Sixth District of Virginia, which rubs up against West Virginia. Mr. Butler's presence in the House of Representatives is a source of deep and constant pain to Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal lobby. ADA rates the voting records of congressmen, awarding a score of 100 for absolute fidelity to the ADA's standards of liberalism, and running down the scale to zero for what the ADA considers invincible conservative ignorance. Mr. Butler's ADA rating in the 93rd Congress was unambiguous. Zero.

Speaking in the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings, Mr. Butler said this:

For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the administration of the government of the United States by the other party.

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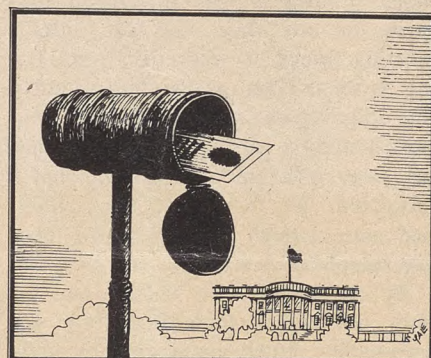
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There. Someone finally said it.

For more than a year now George Bush, the amiable and tireless and public-spirited Texan who heads the Republican National Committee, has been criss-crossing the nation to say what any head of the RNC would have to say, but what is, in my judgment, a

transparent fiction. He has been saying that the Republican Party has no responsibility for Watergate. Mr. Bush has not denied that many contemptible deeds have been done. To his credit, he has not stooped to using the argument (infantile in form and false in substance) that all Administrations have done such things. Rather, Mr. Bush and others have argued that the Republican Party is somehow hermetically sealed off from all responsibility for the Watergate cesspool.

To argue this, you must take one of two paths. The short path is to say that "the Administration" is responsible for



the misdeeds, but the Republican Party has no responsibility for "the Administration." This path is short, but unpromising. The long path is as follows:

First, one must argue that the misdeeds generally referred to under the umbrella label "Watergate" fall neatly into two unrelated categories. The first category is misdeeds (e.g., the Watergate break-in, violations of campaign financing laws, illegal sabotage of Democratic campaigns) done by employees of the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP) and this organization was not meaningfully connected with the Administration. Second, one must argue that the second category (e.g., the burglary at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist) was not really a misdeed because it was done in order to enhance national security.

Americans who have done their homework can judge the strength of this two-pronged argument. Republicans who do not adopt the two-pronged argument are apt to be at least susceptible to Mr. Butler's argument.

Mr. Nixon will be impeached by the House. As many as 80 Republican representatives may vote for impeachment. Mr. Nixon will be removed from office if enough Republican senators think as Mr. Butler thinks. There is no reason to believe that Mr. Butler or Congressman Lawrence Hogan (R., Md.) (who also boasts an ADA rating of zero, and who also made a blistering statement in support of impeaching Mr. Nixon and removing him from office) is eccentric, let alone unique. It is highly probable that some equally conservative Republican senators will vote for conviction. It also is highly probable that there will be Southern Democratic senators who will vote for conviction, as the three Southern Democrats on the Judiciary Committee—James Mann of South Carolina, Walter Flowers of Alabama, Jack Brooks of Texas—voted for impeachment.

The House leadership—principally Speaker Carl Albert and Majority Leader Thomas "Tip" O'Neill—are going to do everything in their power to get a full House vote on impeachment soon, probably by Friday, August 23. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield is determined to finish the trial before the election in order to avoid having any defeated lame duck senators voting on Mr. Nixon's fate.

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## JUSTICE

## Not Hounded Out of Office

The final official judgment on the impeachment of Richard Nixon was spread massively on the public record last week in a 528-page report by the House Judiciary Committee. Supported by 200 pages of factual detail on Nixon's Watergate-related actions as President, the committee unanimously recommended that he should have been impeached by the House and convicted by the Senate for obstructing justice in trying to cover up the true origins of the 1972 wiretap and burglary of Democratic national headquarters. Although Nixon's resignation has rendered the matter moot, the full House accepted the report by a vote of 412 to 3.\*

The report broke new ground only

taped conversations that left no doubt of his cover-up complicity. These Republicans emphasized that Nixon had not been "hounded from office by his political opponents and media critics."

"It was Richard Nixon who impeded the FBI's investigation of the Watergate affair," the minority report declared. "It was Richard Nixon who created and preserved the evidence of that transgression and . . . concealed its terrible import, even from his own counsel, until he could do so no longer." The ten Republicans collectively noted "the self-inflicted nature" of Nixon's Watergate troubles and wondered how "such an able, experienced and perceptive man" could have "imprisoned the truth



JUDICIARY COMMITTEE REPUBLICANS ARRIVING AT WHITE HOUSE TO SEE FORD  
A truth imprisoned until its release destroyed the presidency.

in presenting the collective as well as individual views of the 38 committee members on the nature of impeachable presidential conduct and the kind of evidence required for impeachment. As such, it was a unique guide for future Congresses, historians and constitutional scholars. The report also effectively undermined any current or future claim that Nixon was merely a victim of partisan politics or his ideological enemies.

One of the most poignant portions of the report was the reversal by ten pro-Nixon Republicans who had determinedly opposed impeachment until Nixon finally was forced, under judicial pressure, to release the June 23, 1972

\*Only Indiana Republican Earl F. Landgrebe, Mississippi Democrat G.V. Montgomery and Louisiana Democrat Otto Passman cast "no" votes. Passman said that he still considered Nixon "the greatest President this country ever had."

about his role in the Watergate cover-up so long and so tightly within the solitude of his Oval Office that it could not be unleashed without destroying his presidency."

The committee's factual presentation of evidence cited 19 occasions on which Nixon had made false or misleading statements "as part of a deliberate, contrived, continued deception of the American people" on the Watergate scandal. In addition to Nixon's own falsehoods, the committee reported, the cover-up was aided "by false statements and testimony by the President's close subordinates, which the President condoned, encouraged, and in some instances, directed, coached and personally helped to fabricate."

Beyond the unanimous recommendation of obstruction of justice, which formed Article I of the committee's im-

peachment charges, two other offenses were endorsed as impeachable by the committee. Article II, alleging that Nixon had abused the powers of his office, mainly through misuse of such agencies as the FBI, CIA and IRS, as well as by initiating politically motivated wiretaps and covert investigations, was approved 29 to 9. Approved on a largely partisan 21 to 17 vote was Article III, which claimed that Nixon's failure to honor the committee's subpoenas was impeachable.

There was little new detail in the committee's recital of the evidence against Nixon. Yet the report was not likely to provide the last word on his Watergate role, especially in the cover-up conspiracy. Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski and his staff were still analyzing 55 White House tape recordings, screened by Federal Judge John J. Sirica for use in the conspiracy trial of six former Nixon associates. As legal maneuvering continued over just when the trial must begin, it was apparent that Nixon's as yet uncertain role in that trial, whether as witness or defendant, was a major if unstated reason why both Jaworski and most of the defendants were seeking delays.

**Separate Trial.** Bound by legal obligations, the special prosecutor clearly wants more time to study the Nixon evidence and decide what to do about it. The defendants, on the other hand, are being given the same court-decreed Nixon evidence, and need time to determine how it will affect their cases. One defendant, John Ehrlichman, has already subpoenaed Nixon as a witness for his defense. But if Nixon becomes a defendant, it seems likely that all the other defendants will seek a separate trial, rather than willingly allow their individual fates to be submerged in what would be an inevitably sensational trial of the former President.

Last week Judge Sirica stubbornly insisted that the trial should begin on Sept. 9, as originally scheduled. Several defendants immediately appealed to the nine-judge U.S. Court of Appeals, which "suggested" but did not order a delay of three or four weeks. Promptly if reluctantly since any other course would increase the possibility of reversing any eventual conviction, Sirica chose the minimum three-week postponement. But Ehrlichman's attorneys, insisting on the need for a four-month delay to permit the prejudicial publicity of the Nixon resignation to fade, announced that they will appeal to the Supreme Court.

To most Americans, Watergate may be considered, with relief, to be all but over. Yet for some of this historic episode's most celebrated figures, including Judge Sirica, Prosecutor Jaworski, Richard Nixon and Defendants H.R. Haldeman, John Mitchell and John Ehrlichman, it was increasingly apparent that their most difficult personal moments may yet lie ahead.



M. CALDWELL BUTLER  
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

MEMBER:  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
COMMITTEE ON  
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
329 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-5431

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**

September 5, 1974

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
313 U.S. POST OFFICE AND COURTHOUSE  
BUILDING  
900 CHURCH STREET  
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA 24505  
845-1378  
111 FEDERAL BUILDING AND POST OFFICE  
200 S. WAYNE AVENUE  
WAYNESBORO, VIRGINIA 22980  
942-7758  
(IN STAUNTON DIAL "0" ASK FOR ENTERPRISE 758)  
322 U.S. POST OFFICE AND COURTHOUSE  
BUILDING  
212 W. CHURCH AVENUE  
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA 24003  
981-1231

TO: Members of the Clergy

Our office receives many calls every day from our friends of retirement age who want our help in finding answers to their questions about the problems of advancing age. We are grateful for the opportunity to be of service, but I am fearful that many who need help are not getting it. We want to do something about that also!

On Monday, September 16, 1974, I am sponsoring two Senior Citizens Information Conferences to help those of retirement age become better acquainted with the services and assistance available to them.

Inasmuch as your congregation has numerous parishioners who might find such a program helpful, I am sending this information to you. Should you agree, you may desire to include this information in your church bulletin.

Present at each meeting will be representatives from the Social Security Administration, Veterans Administration, Valley Program for Aging Services, League of Older Americans, Welfare Department, and the Railroad Retirement Board, who will discuss the services of their agencies and answer questions. The representatives will also be available for individual consultation during the social hour following each meeting.

I plan to be there myself if my Congressional responsibilities do not require my presence in Washington.

There will be two separate meetings as set forth below:

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.

Dabney Lancaster Community College

Moomaw Center

Interstate 64, Exit 7 North

Clifton Forge, Virginia

11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

Bolar Ruritan Club

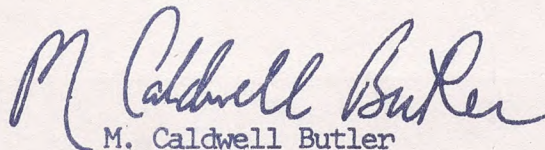
Route 220

Bolar, Virginia (Bath County)

Please call Mrs. Marge Quinlan at the Covington Senior Center if you need assistance in arranging transportation to the meeting at Dabney Lancaster Community College, telephone number 962-4466. For transportation to the conference at the Bolar Ruritan Club, contact the Valley Program for Aging Services in Waynesboro at 942-3838.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

  
M. Caldwell Butler



## Other candidates blast Rep. Butler

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Staff Writer

Two 6th District congressional candidates have taken swipes at Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, one criticizing him for taking \$1,000 in milk funds and another saying he has been ineffectual in helping fight inflation.

Butler is expected to get in some digs of his own when he appears in Staunton tonight at a fund-raising reception to be attended by Rep. John J. Rhodes of Arizona, GOP House leader. Guests will include former Gov. Linwood Holton.

Timothy McGay of Staunton, independent congressional candidate, today criticized Butler's record in Congress, saying the congressman campaigned against deficit federal spending, yet voted three times to raise the federal budget.

"His performance (in Congress) has been very poor," said McGay. He said during

the two years Butler has been in office, inflation, crime and pollution have increased.

McGay told reporters he is conducting a do-it-yourself campaign, with himself making up his entire staff. He said he expects to spend no more than \$1,000.

McGay discussed at a Hotel Roanoke news conference his ideas on fighting inflation, a subject he's making the major issue of his low-key campaign.

He said the federal budget should be balanced; the U. S. should adopt a sound fiscal policy; consumers must hold down credit buying; and labor and business must "quit pushing" over wages and prices.

McGay said that most important of all, "consumers should tighten their belts."

He said he and his family have done so, cutting out altogether credit card buying.

He said he and his wife haven't spent more than \$50 on clothes in the past three years, have started raising big gar-

dens and eat things like squirrel and deer meat on their Marble Valley farm.

McGay, as he has before, opposed building of Gathright Dam, saying the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers wants to make of it, in effect, "a big toilet bowl."

Paul Puckett, the Democratic 6th District candidate, brought up the matter of Butler's milk money when he made a speech last night opening the Puckett for Congress headquarters in downtown Roanoke.

Both Puckett and McGay seem to regard Butler as the man to beat in the Nov. 5 election. The fourth candidate is Warren Saunders of Bedford, who is running on the American party ticket.

In talking about the \$1,000 given to Butler by a milk cop, Puckett said:

"He was at their front door with his hand stretched out and a smile on his face."

"I have no cow to milk and the American people are tired of being milked by politicians."

Butler has said that the contribution was legally given and legally handled.

Puckett asked Butler to explain where he got the money he used in his 1972 campaigns. (Butler ran for a short and long term at the same time in 1972.)

Puckett claimed that Butler supported recently-passed campaign reform legislation purely as a "smokescreen" to divert voters' attention from the money he spent two years ago.

As he has before, Puckett hit out at Butler's stand on economic issues.

"I am literally ashamed that Mr. Butler has not seen fit to explain this economic malady

See CANDIDATES, Pg. 24, Col. 1

## Butler lauds Nixon

W. N. Wed. Sep. 4, 1974

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler says it was to former President Richard M. Nixon's "great credit that he chose to spare the country a prolonged trial and departed with dignity and in good grace."

Butler made the statement as he touched on various subjects in a press release from his Washington office.

Congress, he said, should now turn its attention to more pressing matters.

In other comments, Butler said:

- Nelson Rockefeller, vice president-designate, is a national figure with extensive government experience who "can bring new prestige to the office of vice president."
- He originally intended to

### Ford requests more N-tests

WASHINGTON (AP) — Pres-

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- The American people



WE  
THE



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should rally behind new President Gerald R. Ford. "He deserves the loyalty and understanding of every American and I, for one, pledge him that," said the congressman.

- Excessive government spending is, in his view, the greatest factor contributing to inflation. He expressed confidence that Ford will send to Congress a balanced budget for the next fiscal year. He said Ford is thoroughly familiar with federal finances be-

cause of long service on the House Appropriations Committee.

In his remarks, Butler said it's his view that the President is entitled to pick his vice president. He said Congress ought to confirm that choice unless the nominee is revealed to be unable to discharge the duties of President or vice president.

Rockefeller's nomination comes before the Judiciary Committee.



R.T. Sep. 10, 1974

## Butler Criticized for Pardon Stand

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler was criticized Monday by his Democratic opponent for defending President Ford's unconditional pardon of Richard Nixon.

"If Mr. Butler supports a pardon for President Nixon he will be adding greatly to the dangerously growing belief that justice is for the very few," Paul J. Puckett said in a luncheon speech to the Roanoke Civitan Club at Hotel Patrick Henry.

Butler, who voted for Nixon's impeachment as a member of the House Judiciary Committee, Sunday defended President Ford's right to pardon his predecessor in the White House.

Now, Puckett told the club, Nixon's guilt will never be officially established and the pardon will make it virtually impossible for Americans to know the extent of Nixon's

guilt or innocence in the Watergate scandal.

Puckett, sheriff of Roanoke, said he is opposed to persecuting anyone, but added:

"Too many of our young people and too many people, period, believe that our system of justice allows high ranking men of position and responsibility to go free when wrongdoing has taken place."

During this campaign, Puckett said, "time and time again people have expressed to me their waning respect for our government and our system of justice."

Puckett said that when Butler, one of six Republicans to vote for the first article of impeachment, stated that Nixon's actions smacked of tyranny he could not conceive that he would be for an unconditional pardon.

Puckett said charges against Nixon should have been presented to a grand jury and if indicted he should have been tried, particularly since the Watergate grand jury named him as an "unindicted coconspirator."

Puckett said the United States government is based on the rule of law, not men.

"We must rid our system of political deals that cater to political favoritism to get votes," Puckett declared.

Meanwhile, Butler's staff announced that his headquarters at 312 Second St., SW, in downtown Roanoke will hold its official opening Wednesday morning at 9:30. It will serve as both his congressional district headquarters and his city headquarters.

Butler will be on hand for the opening before returning to Washington for the reconvening of Congress after the Labor Day recess.

## Getting It Right

In an effort to keep the record straight, The Roanoke Times corrects errors which occur in its news columns.

The third annual Bicycle Day on the Blue Ridge Parkway will be held Saturday, rather than Sunday as stated in Monday's Times.

S. Sgt. C. H. Mack, an Air Force recruiter from Clifton Forge, won the tobacco spitting contest at this year's Roanoke Fair.

A story in The Times inaccurately stated Lee Bolenbarker, a Texas woman who was traveling with the carnival, as the winner.

## Professor Named Staunton Mayor

STAUNTON — In an unexpected move, Staunton City Council members Monday elected Dr. Frank Pancake, a Mary Baldwin College professor, as mayor.

## The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Wednesday, September 11, 1974

25

## Pardon report worries Butler

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler said today he thinks President Ford would be making a serious mistake if he pardoned those involved in Watergate-related crimes.

"I can't believe it's under consideration," Butler said today after he helped open his congressional campaign headquarters in downtown Roanoke.

"If it's a trial balloon, I'd like to shoot it down," he added.

There has been speculation that Ford is considering the pardons, but it has not been confirmed in Washington.

Butler said he has no problem in drawing a distinction between showing mercy for former President Richard M. Nixon and those facing prosecution because of their involvement in Watergate.

He did not elaborate, but noted, among other things, that Ford cited "national interest" as one reason for the pardon of Nixon.

In commenting on the Nixon pardon, Butler said he wanted to make it clear that he said he thought the action "not inappropriate," but that he didn't endorse it.

Butler made a brief talk at

See BUTLER, Pg. 27, Col. 1

## Butler

From Page 25

the midmorning headquarters opening, emphasizing he will need a good bit of campaign help this fall because Congress will probably stay in session until late in October.

He said his three opponents appear to be well-financed, adding:

"And they seem determined, for some strange reason, that they want my job."

Butler's opponents in the Nov. 5 election are Warren Saunders, running on the American party ticket, Timothy McGay, independent, and Paul Puckett, Democrat.

Butler said he expects to be so pressed in Washington that he cannot accept any more commitments to appear in the 6th District before the election.

Butler, on his way back to Washington today, said he expects Congress to be unusually busy in the next few weeks.

He said it must consider the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be vice president and deal with legislation on tax reform, inflation and other matters.



R-T Thws. Sep. 12



### Butler Opens Headquarters

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (left) speaks to campaign workers at the opening of his 6th District campaign headquarters in Roanoke Wednesday. Butler told the group he expected

to need a good bit of campaign help because Congress will probably stay in session until late in October. He returned to Washington Wednesday.

*Times Photo*

Thws. Sep. 19, 1974

### Victory Banquet

honoring

VICE MAYOR NOEL C. TAYLOR  
COUNCILMAN ROBERT A. GARLAND

#### PROGRAM

Welcome .....	Calvin McDowell
Invocation .....	A. Horatio Edwards
Pledge to Flag .....	Libby McDowell
Dinner .....	Mrs. Bernice Stuart
Introduction of Head Table .....	Calvin McDowell
Remarks .....	Noel Taylor
Remarks .....	Bob Garland
Introduction of Guest Speaker .....	Del. Ray Garland
Guest Speaker .....	Hon. M. Caldwell Butler
Benediction .....	A. Horatio Edwards

Guest Soloists  
Mrs. Christine Payne  
Mr. William Keen



A. T. - Sat Sep 21, 1974

# Windfall Tax on Oil Backed by Rep. Butler

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said Friday he supports the principle of a windfall tax on oil companies unless they plow excess profits back into domestic production and limit foreign investments.

But, Butler told a luncheon of the Roanoke Valley Association of Life Underwriters, it is impossible to predict when action will come on this legislation.

"It is caught in a complex dispute between Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee which wrote the bill and the Democratic caucus which tells them what to do," Butler, a Republican, remarked.

Democratic candidate Paul J. Puckett and American party candidate Warren Saunders also spoke and answered questions at the luncheon.

Puckett rejected Butler's explanation, saying the gasoline prices are the result of "special interest government" in Washington coming from the White House and is evidence the nation "needs a change in management."

Saunders argued both Democrats and Republicans in Congress are to blame because, he charged, they "just listen to one side. As an example, Saunders criticized Congress for letting environmentalists de-



Times Photos by John Cook

## Candidates Butler, Puckett and Saunders

lay start of the Alaska pipeline.

During the program Butler several times pointed out that the actions which came under attack occurred before he was elected.

"I've been in Washington two years and I don't accept responsibility for everything that has gone wrong," Butler said.

Puckett opened his talk by criticizing Butler for saying Thursday night Vice President-designate Nelson Rocke-

feller should not be required to dispose of his holdings because of the effect putting them on the market at one time would have on the economy. Butler claimed it would be "disastrous."

Puckett claimed Butler advocates a "double standard." The Democratic candidate said he was "appalled" by Butler's position on Rockefeller's confirmation, particularly since Butler had already supported a pardon for former President Nixon.

Saunders said both Demo-

crats and Republicans are to blame, citing, as an example, \$253 billion in foreign aid during the last 28 years. He called it a "giveaway."

Saunders said, as far as the public is concerned, when a Democrat beats a Republican or a Republican beats a Democrat "it's like getting a divorce and getting custody of your mother-in-law."

Saunders criticized Congress for letting Speaker of the House Carl Albert, a Democrat, spend \$160,000 to redecorate his office.



# 'New Politics' in Virginia

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

"Is there such a thing as clean politics?" a 7th grader asked Sheriff Paul J. Puckett at his congressional campaign booth on the midway at the recent fair in Staunton.

Candidates for Congress this fall in Virginia, a state whose political hallmark has been honesty, if nothing else, are finding thousands of adults are asking themselves the same thing too.

Watergate and all that it symbolized in Washington is having a backlash in Virginia this fall and the seven Republican congressmen up for re-election are having to cope with what is coming to be called the "new politics." Democratic challengers are having a tough time too because to thousands of rank-and-file voters the White House scandal climaxed with Richard Nixon's resignation raised doubts among many who used to repeat the hackneyed observation "all politicians are crooked" and laugh at the absurdity of their own remark.

Privately congressmen and their challengers keep the traditional face of the candidate but, in the framework of their organizations, things are different.

"It's no fun any more," one woman who has worked in a number of campaigns for her party, remarked.

"I could care less," one former officeholder who usually can be counted on to hustle votes for his party's candidates remarked at a lawyers' coffee break.

Certainly Watergate has given the campaigns of '74 a new face and the political face that was once vivacious, glamorous and fun-loving is becoming haggard and worn from the strain of these times.

It used to be that an incumbent used the word "re-elect" prominently on his billboards and campaign brochures.

Now, CREP (Committee to Re-elect the President) and, on top of that, people blaming Washington for gas shortage and runaway prices have made "re-elect" a word to avoid.

Congressmen's advertising agencies

have stayed awake nights finding ways to get around this word but leave the impression that having been in Washington still has value to the people at home.

"You Know He's There" is the slogan on Rep. Caldwell Butler's campaign literature—an assurance to voters that Butler is on the job in Washington.

Out in the Southwest Rep. William C. Wampler's billboards have a picture of him with the Capitol in the background and carry the appeal: "Let's Send Bill Wampler Back To Congress."

And down in Southside Virginia where Rep. Robert Daniel, a Republican, won two years ago with the help of conservative Democrats his billboards assure one and all that "Bob Daniel Votes Your Way."

Polls have shown an increasing trend toward independence of voters—"I vote for the best man"—and in this campaign, with noticeable exceptions, a casual voter with only a passing interest in politics would have to ask the candidate whether he is a Democrat or a Republican.

As an example, in Roanoke, the birthplace of the modern "two party system" in Virginia there is nothing on Sheriff Puckett's headquarters to indicate he is a Democrat or on Butler's headquarters to show he is a Republican. In fairness it must be said that in the window of Butler's headquarters there is a huge stuffed elephant and an elephant, in politics, is the symbol of the GOP.

One of the notable exceptions to the rule is Portsmouth lawyer Lester Schlitz, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the 4th who is in a three-way race for Daniel's Southside seat. The words "Democratic Candidate" are prominent on his bumper strips and campaign literature.

Out in the Southwest Wampler's challenger is planning to put the word Democrat on his billboards, a staffer said. The first ones showed no party label, just a picture of Charles J. Horne and a flag and the message: "He'll Vote For You In Congress."

"Had Enough Of The Democrats And Republicans?", third party candidate Warren Saunders asks on his billboards and campaign advertising.

Nowhere does he play up the fact that he is the candidate of the American Party which had its origin in Gov. George Wallace's campaign in the 1960s.

(A fourth candidate, Timothy McGay, is running a handshaking campaign as an independent—with no money for advertising.)

Campaign pros in Washington, most of whom work for candidates of just one party or the other—they do not cross lines—are advising their clients to play down their political connections, to go their own way, establish a "You Know Me, I'm Bill" rapport with voters.

Gone, at least for the time being, are efforts to tie congressional campaigns to the White House.

"It started in 1952 when Richard Poff, now a Virginia Supreme Court justice, pulled a political upset in the once solid Democratic 6th and won as an unknown Republican with the appeal: "Send Dick To Help Ike."

Republican candidates through '72 made sure they had a campaign picture made with Nixon at the White House. No more.

Now the candidates' brochures montage pictures of him with his family and voters—a man of the people close to the young, the old, the black and the white, the man who works in the factory and the man who works on the farm.

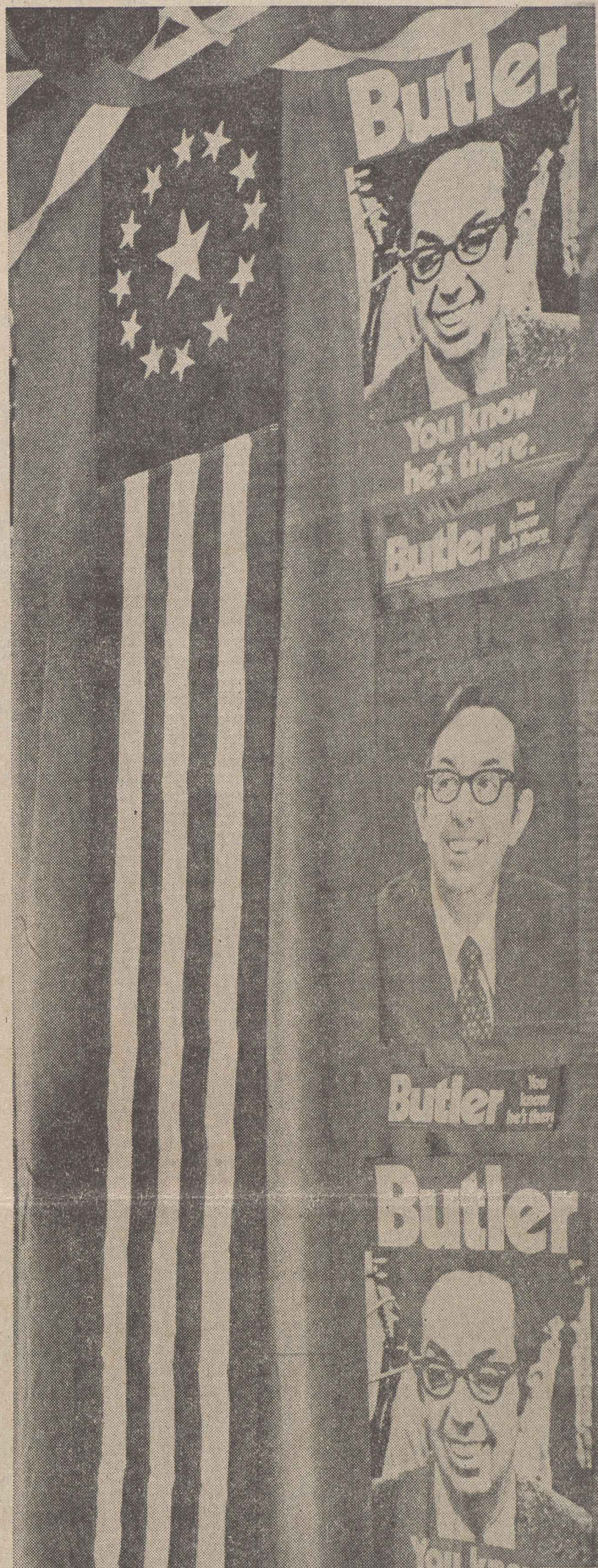
Watergate has put a new emphasis on honesty, an openness of everything about the campaign. Money was at the root of Watergate and the candidates are making sure the same taint does not spread into their own campaigns.

Federal election laws require candidates to report all contributions and expenditures of over \$100. Most in their first reports which had to be filed by Sept. 10 in Washington went all the way and reported everything, down to \$1.

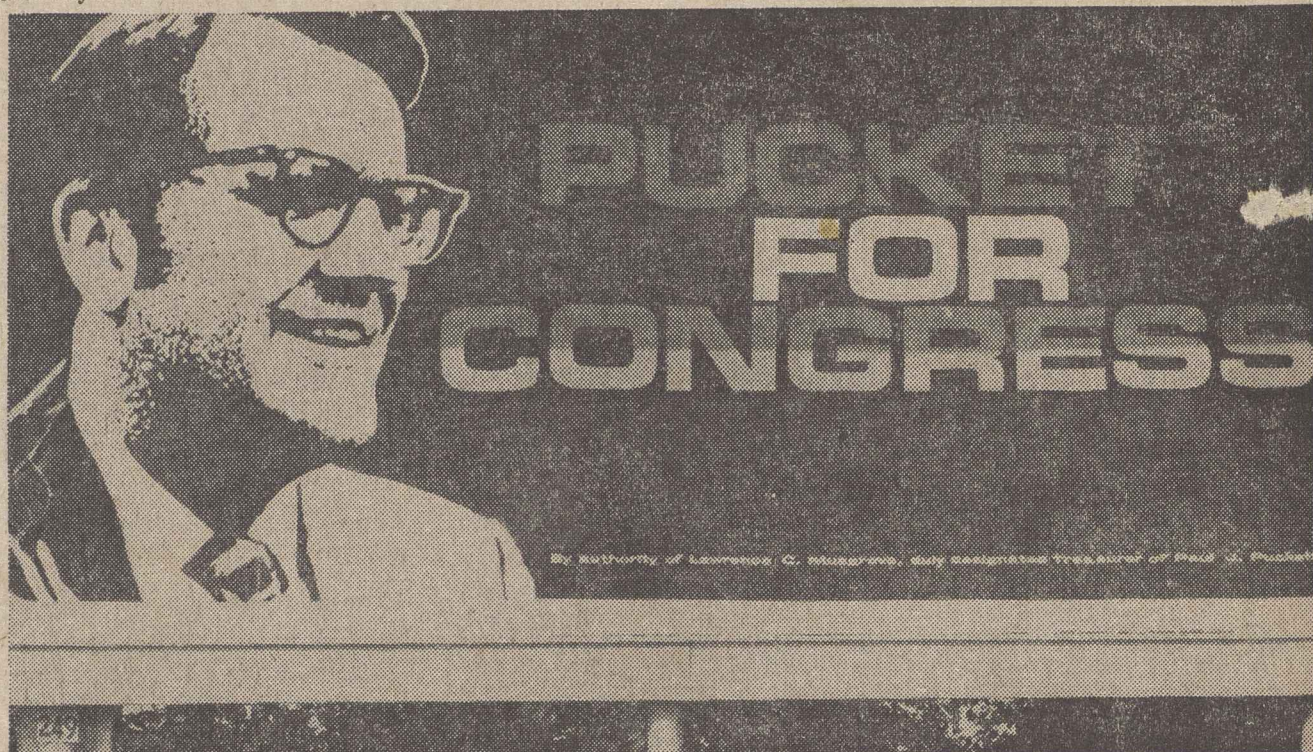
Outwardly, in some respects, campaigns of '74 look much like those of the past—campaign headquarters opening, press aides with handouts, billboards and TV spots, dinners, barbecues and picnics, speeches and endorsements.

Why, one campaign specialist was asked, if the voters are turned off with politics as usual, as many believe, do we have campaigns as usual?

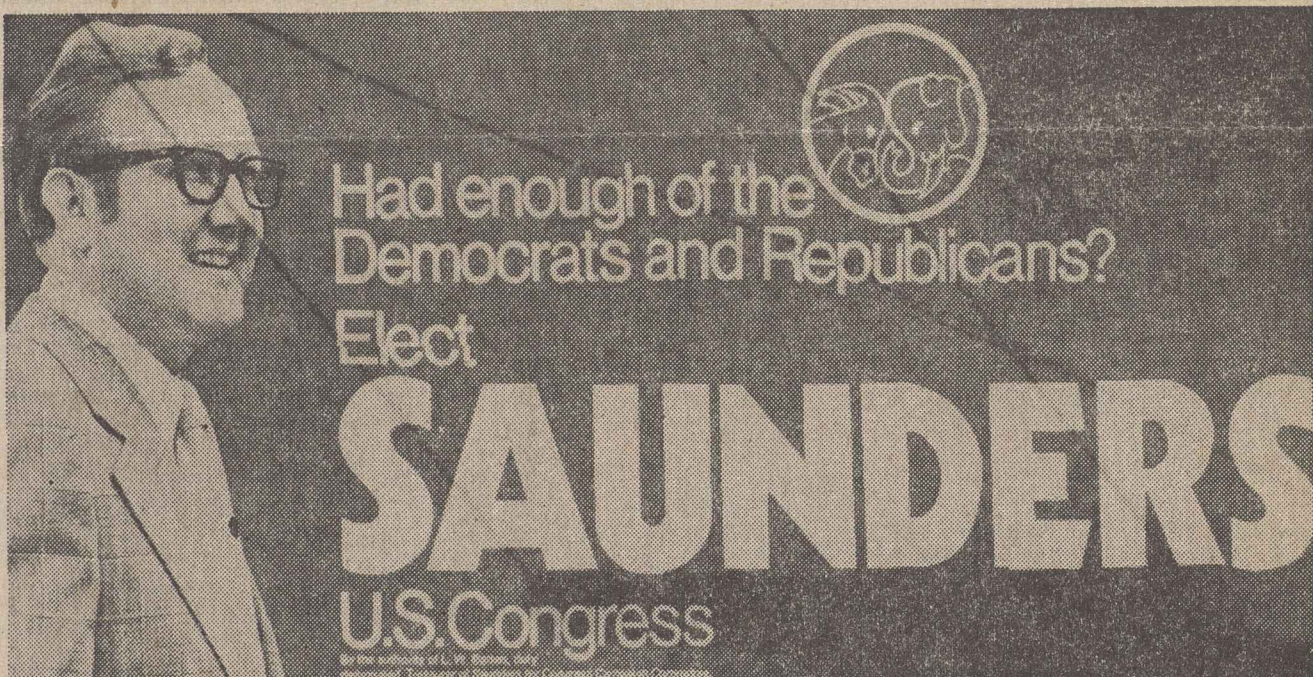
"Maybe," he replied, "we don't know how to do it any other way."



You Know Butler's There  
But He Doesn't Mention He's Republican



Sheriff Puckett Is Democrat — Except on Billboard



Warren Saunders, American Party Hopeful, Asks \$64 Question  
Times Photos by Oakie Asbury

## Post-Watergate Morality

# In Washington, It's Not Politics as Usual

By RUDY MAXA and SAUL FRIEDMAN  
L.A. Times—Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — John "Fat Jack" Buckley only did what came naturally this summer when he volunteered to snoop around Maryland in search of Democratic corruption. After all, the chunky, amiable private investigator only wanted to help his friend of many years, Rep. Lawrence Hogan, R-Md., in his race against incumbent Marvin Mandel for the Maryland governorship. Buckley just wanted to help the way he had helped in four other Republican campaigns since he left the FBI in 1964.

This work included, as Buckley later was to tell the Senate Watergate Committee and the nation, snooping on the Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Me., campaign organization for the Nixon re-election campaign and delivering the results to a man Buckley knew as Ed Warran. Warran turned out to be Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt.

When word leaked that Buckley intended to gumshoe around Annapolis, the media pounced on the story. A bumper sticker appeared: "Fat Jack Is Watching." And a flustered Hogan hastily called off his hunt for Democratic political shenanigans. (Hogan subsequently lost the GOP primary race for the gubernatorial nomination.)

What had happened was clear: No one told Buckley about the new Post-Watergate Morality.

Slogging through the Watergate months changed men. Crafty Chuck Colson got religion. Jeb Stuart Magruder, John Dean and Egil Krogh repudiated their fascination with power. Spiro T. Agnew and Richard M. Nixon left the White House in disgrace.

In the stonewallers' wake lingered a Post-Watergate Morality, a trembling new era that hinted hard guys would no

Rudy Maxa is a staff writer with the Washington Post's Potomac magazine. Saul Friedman is a Washington correspondent for The Detroit Free Press.

longer finish first in Washington. No more military jets available for grouse-hunting jaunts, no more stashed campaign cash.

The fine promise of clean government was in Sam Ervin's jaws that shook with righteous indignation while John Ehrlichman pleaded ignorance of the meaning of the word "surreptitious." On-the-cheap-politics were derided regularly this summer as federal judges passed sentence on many of the former President's men. Things would be different from now on.

"The intricate tangle of criminal charges leveled at me . . . boils down to the accusation that I permitted my fundraising activities and my contract-dispensing activities to overlap in an unethical and unlawful manner," Agnew said in his goodnight America speech last fall. "Perhaps judged by the new post-Watergate morality, I did."

The implication was that two years earlier such "overlapping" would have been the clubby thing to do. Prescient in his downfall, Agnew knew there was something in the air.

But beyond apology, beyond political cocktail conversation, would the Post-Watergate Morality be as brief and bothersome as a pollution alert, a time to lie low and let it all pass?

Image, Agnew also said, superseded reality in the "technological age." And in this town of ready microphones, rededicated politicians willing to jawbone morality are plentiful, so plentiful that economist J. Kenneth Galbraith predicts "a drawing of morals until healthy stomachsretch."

Off-camera, however, little things that may or may not mean a lot are marking the new era:

- Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich., who never took much of anything anyhow, nevertheless recently sent word to his office staff that boxes of candy from visiting lobbyists should not be accepted.

- In one congressional office last holiday season, staffers suggested to their boss that addressing his Christmas cards was not exactly their responsibility, and he withdrew his request.

- One senator on the District of Columbia Committee has reluctantly refused any further gifts of liquor from a Washington businessman.

- So many members of Congress are revealing their financial holdings that Congressional Quarterly published, for the first time, a fat supplement on their disclosures last month.

- Staffers at the Senate Democratic Policy Committee remember the good old days when they shared batches of free cheese sent regularly by the Wisconsin dairy industry to Wisconsin's Sen. Gaylord Nelson. Since Watergate the cheese shipments have stopped.

Warning staffers not to accept candy from lobbyists points up one of the chief tenets of the Post-Watergate Morality: avoiding the appearance of impropriety

is as important as avoiding the impropriety itself.

Consider the lot of one group of fellows around town for whom things may not be the same for a long while.

The milk producers' lobby was a traditional touch for a five-figure lecture fee or campaign contribution until the question of milk price supports became tangled in the morass of Watergate. Now some congressmen have returned "milk money" and, except for a legislator with a constituency heavy with cows, bragging about milk lobby connections would be about as politically shrewd as posing for a campaign photo with G. Gordon Liddy.

"The current atmosphere creates problems," acknowledges one milk lobbyist, who prefers to remain unnamed because, well, because the current atmosphere creates problems. "The taint of milk has made it more difficult to present our point of view. If we were to attempt to persuade members of Congress to take some price-support legislation to the floor, it would be much more difficult now than it would have been three years ago."

For a milk booster to talk of the "taint of milk" the times must be tough for special interest groups, and if one congressman gets his way, the peanut

pushers, rice puffers and sugar touters will have a taste of the new era, too.

Rep. Peter Peyser, a Republican from a mostly suburban New York district, asked for and received a seat on the House Agriculture Committee so he could sink his teeth into bills that had long bothered him, but about which he knew too little to debate.

Then, in an action that surprised members who had spent all their legislative lives watching protective legislation for peanut barons sail effortlessly through the House, Peyser led the Great Peanut Debate in June. Actually, the floor debate only lasted about half an hour, but in the annals of the American peanut industry, that qualifies as a great debate.

Peyser wanted to stop the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. from guaranteeing farmers a certain price for a field of peanut plants. The congressman brought a plastic, footlong peanut onto the House floor with an oversized, half-billion dollar price tag attached and, although he lost the vote 100 to 4, the skirmish shook the peanut lobby.

Peyser and an informal coalition of like-minded members have already gutted the sugar quota legislation, and rice subsidies are high on their hit list.

Exploding food prices have undoubtedly emboldened lawmakers to look harshly on subsidy legislation conceived during Depression years, but Peyser's administrative assistant, Lee Greif, doesn't mind crediting some of the new feistiness to Watergate fallout.

"More intellectual honesty now," Greif says, "more attention to detail" and more just plain "daring." Another Hill staffer agrees that any "technical adjustment bill" for industries such as oil or coal now arrives on the floor burdened with the stigmatized assumption that somewhere, somehow, some industrial giant will profit hugely from the legislation.

A respectable period of good behavior has been observed after every great Washington scandal. An era of muckraking against the giant corporations followed the Teapot Dome affair. Trustbusting became the catch phrase. Regulatory agencies sprang up like spring dandelions in the early '30s as the New Deal evolved to answer the "robber barons." The Securities and Exchange Commission was formed to try to bring some order to a footloose, promise-them-anything securities business.

The aftermath of the Bobby Baker scandal was more muted, perhaps because the fascination of John Kennedy eclipsed the possible questionable dealings of his vice president's former protege. Rumor had it that repercussions from the Baker affair would mean Johnson would be dropped from the party ticket in 1964; the Kennedy assassination changed all that.

The Baker scandal, however, did take its toll in upset lives. One favorite call girl of the Baker set watched her business drop off dramatically, finally left town and wound up changing her name as well as her profession.

Other than the presidential profession, no single line of work suffered more loss of face in the Watergate episode than the law. Nearly three dozen lawyers have either admitted or been accused of crimes ranging from perjury to burglary, and the casualties are still mounting.

The American Bar Association blasted the behavior of some of its members (hardly a routine reaction by the ABA) and began studying ways to streamline disbarment proceedings that vary from state to state. Also under consideration are ways to de-politicize the office of the attorney general and a recommendation

See Page H-3, Col. 1



—The Houston Post



Time to Bite

Inflation's Bulletin

The President's conferences on inflation have an educational value but ultimately—and soon—the President and the Congress will have to get specific. One set of specifics, at odds with the most recent Nixon policies, comes from economist John Kenneth Galbraith. In the September 15 *New York Times Magazine*, Mr. Galbraith recommends:

There is no longer room for choice; all measures must be used. Money must now be kept tight, although this is the most depressive, discriminatory and dangerous of remedies. Purchasing power must be curtailed by the budget, and this can only be done effectively and promptly by increasing taxes. The wage-and-price spiral must be arrested, and this requires controls. The strongest possible efforts must be made to increase food supplies next year, and an expansion of fertilizer output is especially important. All of these actions must be taken with such energy and purpose that people will have confidence in the future value of their money and dollar-denoted assets, and will not be moved to reduce current savings or spend past savings.

Mr. Galbraith would put a 10 per cent surcharge on individual income above \$15,000; 20 per cent above \$20,000, and hike the corporation income tax "a few points." His theory is that a higher tax would instantly reduce spending while the effect of shrinking the federal budget would not be felt until a year off.

If the tax proposal goes down hard, so for many people would be wage and price controls. Mr. Galbraith does not believe a free market exists where there are giant corporations and powerful unions. He would not control the prices of any firm employing fewer than 1,000 workers or any wages that are not covered by a union contract.

All of this and some other ingre-

dients make stern medicine. Mr. Galbraith is not sure it will be taken. But, he notes, temporizing on the Vietnam war cost Lyndon Johnson the presidency; temporizing on Watergate cost Richard Nixon the presidency; an overly mild and cautious attitude towards inflation could have similar results for Gerald Ford. Mr. Galbraith may be wrong on the details; economists have a hard time agreeing. But he is certainly right on his general attitude: Tough action is needed to preserve the general confidence which, if it finally goes, will multiply the consequences by 10, or 100.

Knocks (x) 34!

If strange people knocked on your door 34 times in one year, all of them asking for money, chances are you would become annoyed the third time, furious thereafter. Is it not better for one person to knock one time to obtain help for 34 agencies?

That is what is going on right now in the United Way campaign, in which all of the Roanoke Valley communities participate. So be kind and generous when the United Fund solicitor comes around. This person will not only be saving you a chain reaction of door-knocking but will be offering unusual assurances that your gift will be well-used.

Every agency's budget is carefully scrutinized before approved by the United Fund Director. The ratio of campaign expenses to expenses for people in need is astoundingly low; we have never seen another agency which could better it. The need for next year is \$1,659,007. So welcome that lone door knock and give your fair share in meeting the need!

On the Mound, Lefty Ford

If you saw the photograph of President Ford signing the pardon for Richard M. Nixon, you may have noticed that—in addition to showing the tip of his tongue as he wrote—he used his left hand. That makes Mr. Ford decidedly unusual among U.S. Presidents: the only other practicing southpaw was Harry S. Truman. As everybody knows, it's a right-handed world.

Historians say that matters used to be more even-handed. One evidence is that ancient Greek or Egyptian writing can be read top to bottom, right to left, or back and forth—implying that there was no prevailing favor given to either hand's way of doing things.

The situation may have begun to change two or three thousand years ago. The 20th chapter of Judges tells of the Israelites being defeated in battle by a Benjamite army including "700 picked men who were

left-handed; every one could sling a stone at a hair, and not miss." This bit of military history supposedly swayed the Romans toward militant right-handedness (perhaps because the Israelites eventually prevailed over Benjamin's Posces). It also gave rise to the lore that left-handers could not be trusted—one reason being that they could shake hands and draw a sword at the same time.

Whatever the cause, left-handedness clearly has not been encouraged in the recent past. James T. de Kay, author of "The Left-Handed Book," told Editorial Research Reports that during the 18th and 19th centuries, "everyone was forced to become right-handed, and that screwed up left-handers so much that they never could have become president."

On the other hand, it is said that James Garfield could write in Greek with one hand while simultaneously scribbling in Latin with the other. He managed to keep this sign of intellectuality quiet enough to be elected our 20th President.

No one has yet accused Mr. Ford of being an egghead. And one neurological theory holds that left-handers sometimes are inclined to do less well in matters verbal, rational and analytic. Observers of handedness also find southpaws more creative and imaginative, even unpredictable. Lefty Harry Truman was Lefty Gerry Ford's model President, which suggests the country may be in for some interesting times.

Sen. Soaper Says

So far the cartoonists are having trouble with Jerry Ford. But it helps a lot that he used to play football and sometimes cooks his own breakfast.

Congressman Sludgepump pledges an open door policy for his office, at least until he finds the lost key.

The little boy down the block listens very patiently to his parents' complaints about his conduct. He is practicing to be an ombudsman when he grows up.

Whose Apathy?

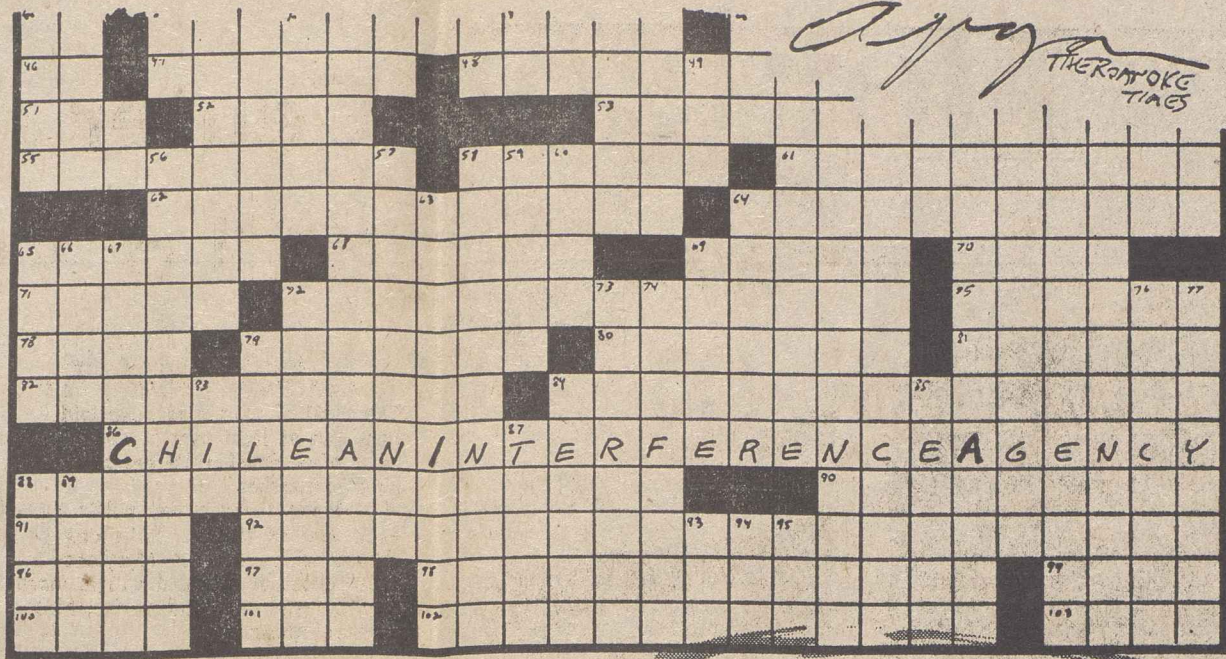
A man who recently had the bad judgment to be walking the streets of New York at 5 a.m. claimed some insight as to why its citizens were sometimes apathetic about "getting involved" in police matters. He was accosted by four young toughs, one of whom poked a finger through a jacket pocket and threatened to blow his head off if he didn't hand over his wallet.

Showing more questionable judgment because he hadn't thought out the possible consequences, the man simply pushed past the little group and kept walking. When he glanced over his shoulder, they were still standing there discussing

it and he reflected that a call to the police might be in order.

When he finally found a call box, he reported an attempted mugging and was told he'd have to call some other precinct for that. He said he was really calling so a policeman might be sent and the quartet apprehended so he could identify them.

The officer at the police department thought that was a great idea, one that seemingly hadn't occurred to him. But when no policeman appeared in the next two hours, the man caught the bus for which he'd been waiting in the first place and departed, without regret.—PAUL DELLINGER



52. Rumanian verb.

54. Dips in France.

86. What "C.I.A." stands for.

Ford Stresses Economy

New Foreign Priorities

By JOSEPH KRAFT

"President Ford rightly understands that avoiding a world depression has to be the centerpiece of his foreign policy."

IN HIS SPEECH to the United Nations last week, President Ford announced a subtle change in the emphasis of American foreign policy. He put top priority on the need to meet the world economic crisis. That almost certainly means a lesser stress than President Nixon put on settlement in the Near East and on detente with Russia.

A good way to sense the difference is to consider the staggering impact of the threefold price increase enacted by the cartel of oil-producing countries over the past 18 months. Something like half the rise in American wholesale prices over the past year springs directly from that increase. The inflation raging in most of the other countries of the world is even more closely tied to the oil price rise.

So is the world food crisis. Fertilizer, a petroleum product, has risen in price step by step with oil. The countries which require fertilizer are those least able to pay because they have to spend their precious dollar assets on oil itself. So India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and several other nations known as the MSAs, or countries the most severely affected by the oil price rise, are threatened with famine.

Perhaps even more serious than the food problem is the impact of the oil price increase on the international balance of payments. The United States is running a heavy deficit largely because of the increased payments for oil. So are all the other industrialized countries.

For the United States the impact is not disastrous. The oil-producing coun-

tries unable to buy goods with their receipts invest the money in the most stable foreign economies. That means Germany, Japan and Britain.

But nations such as Italy and France have to borrow to meet their debts, or else tighten up terribly on consumption. Borrowing is tough and now threatens a run on major banking facilities. Economic restrictions, by spreading from country to country, could produce the world depression so many people foresee.

President Ford rightly understands that avoiding a world depression has to be the centerpiece of his foreign policy. That is the plain meaning of the principal statement made in his speech to the United Nations: "Let us not delude ourselves. Failure to cooperate on oil, food and inflation could spell disaster for every nation represented in this room."

But every serious effort to meet the oil problem runs athwart policies put into effect by President Nixon. The most obvious measure would be to insist on a break in the oil price in exchange for this country's good efforts in promoting a settlement in the Near East. But President Nixon didn't want to jeopardize his diplomatic moves by mixing in vulgar commercial interests.

For fear of alienating the Arabs and thus spoiling his negotiations he did not apply any pressure for an oil price break, and his effort to wheedle down the price by being nice to the Saudis has obviously not worked.

A second tactic would be to organize the consuming countries in a kind of cartel. President Nixon had taken some steps here, notably in promoting the Washington energy conference of oil-consuming countries.

But cooperation with such major oil consumers as Japan, France and even Britain has been sticky. A large part of the reason is that President Nixon had placed so much more emphasis on detente with Russia than on cooperation with this country's allies.

A third tactic would be to develop a strong program for energy self-sufficiency in this country. Only that would have involved sacrifice in the context of international crisis. President Nixon declared the crisis was over as soon as the first progress was made toward an easing of tension between Israel and the Arab states. And in the absence of a crisis atmosphere, it has been impossible to take steps toward American self-sufficiency.

In short, President Nixon's emphasis on settlement with the Near East and detente with Russia implied living with higher oil prices. Mr. Ford's emphasis on international economic problems implies bringing down the price of oil—perhaps even at the cost of living with an unsettlement in the Near East and an incomplete detente with Russia.

that she is teaching phonics (which in most instances she is not), and as a result, the cliché, "But we DO teach phonics!" What she is teaching is a combination of the two methods with the emphasis on meaning (look-say), and the introduction of gradual phonics; but the damage has already been done—and this has proved to be as disastrous as the pure look-say method.

The fight is not look-say versus phonics, meaning emphasis versus code emphasis, but rather, which should hold the most prominent place in the initial stages of teaching to read?

ROBERT C. PRICE

Roanoke

Reverse Justice?

... HE SHALL have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment."

That's it in its entirety. Section Two, Article Two of our beloved Constitution. These few words are the ones President Ford knavishly plucked from their context to justify his pardon of his mentor and cause his current grief.

Can any fair-minded, objective person, on reading these words, possibly conceive that it was the intent of the framers-out of this noble document that this phrase be subverted and used as an excuse to stand justice on its head?

That pathetic little Eisenhower boy is even putting in his father-in-law's defense the notion that Nixon, under the aegis of these spare few words, could have pardoned himself (his iron-clad rectitude would allow him to have none of it, of course). Ha! It is even clearly stated that in cases of impeachment the power of the incumbent president to pardon is excepted. Is not impeachment what this whole imbroglio is about?

That strange Wonderland of Alice's is becoming frighteningly viable in the shoddy amphitheater of today's self-serving politics where words mean only what one wants them to mean.

FRANK R. MOTLEY

Abingdon

Cross My Heart and Hope To Lie

By ART BUCHWALD

THERE IS SOME question as to whether State Department and CIA officials told the truth when they testified in front of congressional committees concerning U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile. There is even some talk of perjury charges being brought against high U.S. government officials.

This could play havoc with congressional hearings, particularly where our foreign policy is concerned. If they can't lie, many State Department and CIA types say they may refuse to appear on Capitol Hill.

This is what could happen.

"Secretary Sangroid, do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?"

"I didn't understand the question."

"We are going to ask certain questions regarding our foreign policy and we want to know if you intend to respond with honest answers."

"Hmnnn, can I consult with counsel?"

"Yes, you can."

"What was the question again, Senator?"

"Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?"

"Is that a multiple-choice question?"

"Just answer yes or no, Mr. Secretary."

"Counsel advises me that since national security is involved I can't tell you whether I will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth without consulting with Dr. Kissinger."

"There will be a five-minute recess while you call Dr. Kissinger."

Five minutes later:

"If they can't lie, many State Department and CIA types say they may refuse to appear on Capitol Hill."

"All right, Secretary Sangroid, I will pose the question again. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?"

"Dr. Kissinger says I can't swear to that unless you go into executive session."

"We are in executive session, Mr. Secretary."

"Then could you clarify something for me? If you ask me a question, do you expect me to give a truthful answer to it, even if it compromises the administration and the State Department and the CIA and gets somebody into trouble for making a stupid mistake?"

"That is correct."

"Dr. Kissinger was afraid of that. I'll have to consult with him again."

Five minutes later:

"Mr. Secretary, we really do have to get on with these hearings, and in order to do so we have to swear you in as a witness under oath."

"Why can't I lie?"

"Because it is essential that Congress be kept informed as to what this country is doing abroad."

"In Russia I could lie."

"We're not in Russia, Mr. Secretary. The Constitution specifically gives the Senate the right to advise and consent on foreign policy. In order to do that we must have information from your department. You can see that, can't you?"

"But if you know what we're doing and you don't agree with it, you'll have to do something about it. How can we have a strong foreign policy if you keep asking the State Department to tell you the truth?"

"Mr. Secretary, I must warn you that if you refuse to tell us the truth we shall have to hold you in contempt of Congress."

"But if I took the oath seriously, Dr. Kissinger could get very angry with me. The way I see it, if I'm convicted for lying, I can always get a pardon from the President. But who would give a pardon to anyone who told the truth to Congress?"

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# Democrats Choose Delegates; Boost Congressional Hopefuls

## 6th District

By JOE GILLILAND  
Times Staff Writer

NATURAL BRIDGE — President Gerald Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon and Rep. Caldwell Butler's reaction to it will be rebuked at the polls in November, Democrat Paul Puckett predicted Saturday.

Puckett, seeking Butler's seat in Congress, hammered away at the pardon issue before an enthusiastic audience of almost 250 delegates at the 6th Congressional District Convention at the Natural Bridge Hotel.

Puckett charged that Butler tried to back off his stand on the pardon after adverse public reaction. "Butler said the pardon was 'appropriate.' But after the letters and the telephone calls came in, Butler said the fact he approved of the pardon didn't mean he agreed with it," Puckett said. "Now you tell me what that means."

The voters in November are going to vote "no" for such political "mumble jumble," Puckett said. "They are going to vote 'no' to politicians who talk out of both sides of their mouth. They are going to vote 'no' for those who give political favors at the sacrifice of good government and a stable economy."

Puckett made only one other passing remark about the country's economic situation.

"If we are to solve the problem of inflation we must reinstate a belief that we as a people

See Page B-3, Col. 1

## 9th District

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

MARION — Hundreds of "Fighting Ninth" Democrats poured into Marion this rainy Saturday to elect three delegates to the Democrats' coming charter convention in Kansas City and whoop up support for Charles Horne's campaign for Congress.

Clerk of the House of Representatives W. Pat Jennings, who lost his House seat to Rep. William C. Wampler, was doing the cheerleading with two speeches of the free-swinging style that has made the Southwest a political land of its own in state politics.

There were 237 delegates plus about 50 onlookers for the district convention held at Marion High School.

Drizzling rain forced the district's traditional "Acres of Democrats" barbecue at Hungry Mother Park into the high school cafeteria and between 500 and 600 came.

There were seven candidates for the district's three seats at the Kansas City convention and district chairman Sam W. Coleman III, who led the balloting, said the size of the crowd and the turnout for the barbecue is evidence of the sense of victory rising among Democrats here.

Coleman, a Gate City lawyer, got 169 votes; William Patton, a representative of the United Mine Workers, who is also Dickenson County Democratic chairman, got 161 votes; and R. E. "Rick"

See Page B-3, Col. 1

## Rep. Butler impatient with adjournment delay

Rep. Caldwell Butler last night charged that Congress is "dragging its feet" on laws it really ought to pass so it can adjourn and go home for fall campaigning.

He charged, too, that Democrats are holding up the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller, who has been nominated for the vice presidency.

Butler thus joins some other Republicans who have also made the latter charge. Sen. Hugh Scott, R-Pa., among others, has charged the delay is

aimed at keeping Rockefeller from helping GOP members in their fall campaigns.

Butler spoke at a \$10-a-plate dinner at High Street Baptist Church. It was in honor of Del. Ray L. Garland and Noel Taylor, candidates for the House last fall.

The Dutch scholar Erasmus, who died in 1536, said a really well-mannered caller kissed his host, hostess, all the children and the dog and cat.

## Butler Calls on Committee To Start Rockefeller Probe

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — U. S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Wednesday urged his colleagues on the House Judiciary Committee to begin hearings immediately on the confirmation of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be vice president, but the committee showed no inclination to confirm the former New York governor before the November elections.

That, Butler confided later, confirmed his suspicions that Democrats are holding up the nomination to keep Rockefeller off the campaign trail.

"Looks like a partisan thing to me," Butler said later after judiciary chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., deftly headed off sentiment toward beginning hearings quickly.

Butler told the 38-member committee that he was "not impressed by the logic" of those who would move slowly on the nomination since the

new vice president would be the second top national official holding office without being elected by the populace.

"It's far more important that we proceed (with the confirmation) while we have a Congress that is answerable to the people," Butler declared. "Rather than a lame duck Congress that is not answerable to anyone."

He said he would be willing to give up at least part of his congressional recess for the Nov. 5 elections to get the nomination approved by the committee rather than waiting until after the elections when at least some members will have been defeated.

Butler said he believed the committee had acquitted itself very well in the confirmation of then-Rep. Gerald Ford last year to be vice president and also in the impeachment inquiry of former President Nixon.

Declaring that the stature of the Judiciary Committee in

the eyes of the nation had risen in the past year, Butler argued that the hearings should commence without delay "to avoid suggestions that we are delaying to keep Mr. Rockefeller off the hustings."

Butler was joined in his plea for dispatch by several Republicans as well as one Democrat, Rep. John F. Seiberling of Ohio, but Rodino maintained that the committee did not have all necessary materials available yet and declared the panel would move with deliberation in the proceedings.

Translated, that meant the committee would not be able to approve Rockefeller's nomination before the election break.

Butler later said he had been considering the nation's needs in situations like the present one and came to the conclusion that suggestions for a national special election to choose a new vice president would be foolish.





## I'll work with Caldwell Butler.

- ☐ I'll give a coffee, reception or meeting.
- ☐ I'll add my name to Butler Committee.
- ☐ I'll ring doorbells in my neighborhood or where needed.
- ☐ I'll make phone calls from my home to voters and friends.
- ☐ I'll volunteer part time in headquarters.
- ☐ I'll distribute Butler materials.
- ☐ Please send me a bumper strip.
- ☐ I'll work election day.
- ☐ I'm enclosing a contribution.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

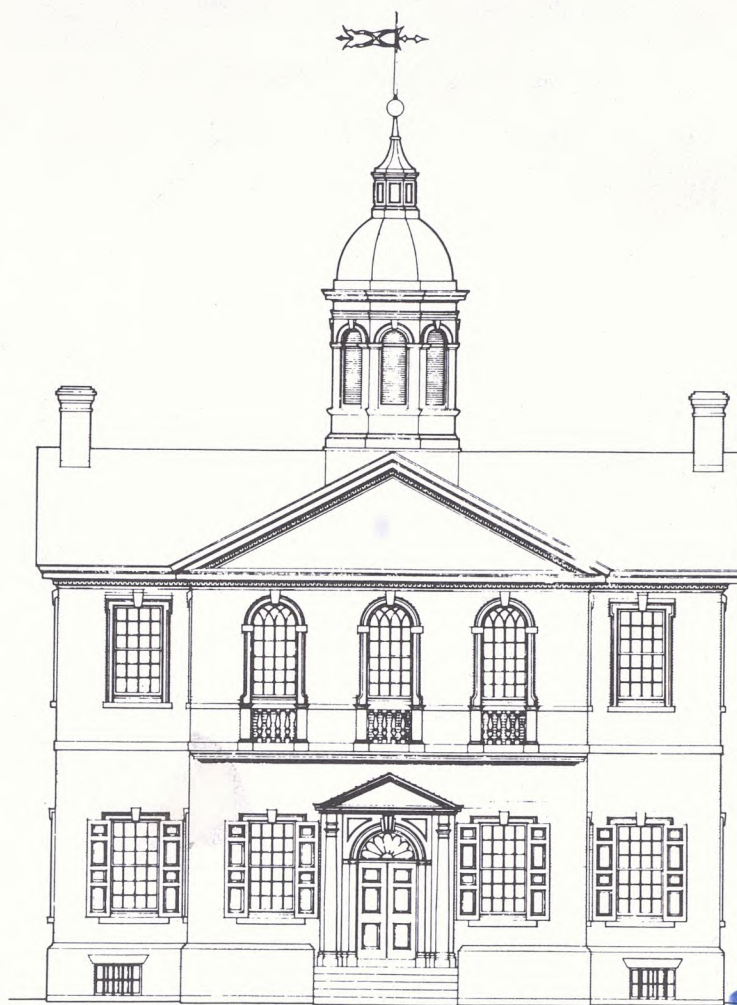
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Anyone wishing to make a contribution should make checks payable to Friends of Caldwell Butler, P. O. Box 1987, Roanoke, Virginia 24009. Telephone 703/344-2011.

Paid for by Friends of Caldwell Butler Comm., Wm. R. Holland, treas.

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In December of 1773, a group of Boston citizens, outraged with the new British tax on tea, swarmed over three British ships in Boston Harbor and dumped the tea overboard.

In the Spring of 1774, the British Parliament, responding sternly to the Boston Tea Party, enacted legislation closing the port of Boston, altering the Massachusetts charter so that the upper house of the legislature was now appointed by the Crown instead of elected by the lower house, permitting troops to be quartered in private homes when barracks, inns, or other housing was unavailable, and exempting British officials from trial in the colony's courts.

The colonists called these the Intolerable Acts, and they were the central subject of discussion when the First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774.

Out of this session came a "Declaration and Resolves" of colonial rights and an agreement to stand together in boycotting commerce with Great Britain, which was extensive.

This thirst for liberty and justice and this willingness to sacrifice was the initial manifestation of the same spirit that subsequently produced the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and a 200-year tradition of representative government as the watchdog of the freedom and dignity of the American Republic.

**Committee on Arrangements**

The Honorable Mike McCormack, Chairman  
The Honorable Joseph M. McDade  
The Honorable James M. Hanley  
The Honorable Jack F. Kemp



*The United States House of Representatives*

*cordially invites you*

*to participate in the*

*celebration of the 200th Anniversary*

*of the First Continental Congress*

*in the House Chamber*

*on Wednesday, the 25th of September*

*at 12 Noon*

*Nineteen hundred seventy four*

- ☐ I'll ring doorbells in my neighborhood or where needed.
- ☐ I'll make phone calls from my home to voters and friends.
- ☐ I'll volunteer part time in headquarters.
- ☐ I'll distribute Butler materials.
- ☐ Please send me a bumper strip.
- ☐ I'll work election day.
- ☐ I'm enclosing a contribution.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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City & State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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# Dentists Still Oppose National Program

By ROBERT B. SEARS  
Times Staff Writer

The dental profession continues to oppose any national health program using public funds for health care to persons financially able to pay for it themselves, the president-elect of the American Dental Association (ADA) said in an interview in Roanoke Saturday.

He is Dr. Lynden M. Kennedy of Dallas, Tex., who was in town to address the opening session of the Virginia Dental Association (VDA) House of Delegates at Hotel Roanoke. The VDA's 105th annual meeting will continue until Tuesday afternoon. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler welcomed the delegates.

Dr. Kennedy told a reporter that ADA supports federal funding of dental services to people who can't afford to pay.

And in such services funded by government, he said, "comprehensive dental services for children should have the highest priority."

Two-, three- and four-year-old children should be included the first year of any such national health program for indigents, he said.

Dr. Kennedy said also that

the ADA supports such third-party arrangements for dental care as the California Dental Service Corp., where, he noted, 92 per cent of the premiums paid to the corporation went for actual dental services to patients.

Dr. Kennedy in his address to the House of Delegates observed that public esteem of the dentist as a medical man had fallen since the days before World War II, when the dentist provided the service, the patient paid for it and those unable to pay got essential care without charge.

The public respect has eroded, in part, he said, because of the "inevitable shortcomings of increasing socialization," and because of "flagrant abuse" by a "microscopic minority" of dentists.

Dr. Kennedy said it was also due to increasing specialization. He noted that since 1947, dentists have recognized eight special areas of dental practice. Patients sometimes get the idea that the specialists are more interested in the technical problems than in the patients, Dr. Kennedy said.

"If this trend continues," Dr. Kennedy said, "it is certain that dentistry will follow

the route of medicine in becoming overspecialized."

Today's physicians and dentists, Dr. Kennedy said, with few exceptions have the same dedication to their patients' welfare as in earlier days.

But the public now believes, he said, that comprehensive health care, including complete dental care, is a "right."

"We are playing," he said, "in a new ball game with a different set of rules."

Dr. Jason R. Lewis of Richmond, president of the VDA, in his address to the delegates Saturday afternoon, said dentists must initiate change and meet challenges to the profession by well-planned action.

"I urge our association," he said, "to take a positive stand for Medicaid (government funding of medical care for those unable to pay), and I en-

courage each dentist to join me as a participant in this program to provide dental care to the young people of Virginia. The Medicaid Program will be joined this year by many third party carriers offering comprehensive dental insurance."

Dr. Lewis said the Dental Care Programs Committee of the VDA will be its most important committee for the next few years because:

It must review dental insurance programs, establish and implement peer review, and "be alert to governmental programs that include comprehensive dental care."

The year has been an increase in patient complaints, Dr. Lewis said, and he recom-

mended that local dental societies in the state review their systems for handling consumer complaints.

Dr. Lewis also showed concern for continuing professional education, recommending that local societies schedule at least five meetings each year with continuing education programs and seek 100 per cent attendance at them.

The House of Delegates commended Dr. Kenneth M. Haggerty of Arlington for his service in 1973 on the Health Industry Advisory Committee of the Cost of Living Council.

The VDA convection will continue today with clinics and committee hearings and the election of officers in the afternoon.

## Candidate Attacks Others Over the Use of Surrogates

By BEN BEAGLE  
Times Staff Writer

Warren D. Saunders of Bedford County, the American party's candidate for the 6th District seat in Congress, charged Saturday that both Democrats and Republican opponents are using "surrogate candidates" to "rescue them."

Saunders said in a statement that the use of these "surrogate candidates" is "an admission (from his opponents) that their campaigns aren't going anywhere."

Saunders cited recent appearances by Republican Reps. John J. Rhodes of Arizona, Wilmer Mizell of North Carolina and Charles E. Wiggins of California, charging they appeared on behalf of 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke.

He also listed visits by U.S. Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter on behalf of Roanoke City Sheriff Paul J. Puckett, the Democratic candidate for the seat.

"All of these out-of-town ringers try very hard to hide the fact that it's the Democrats and Republicans themselves who are responsible for getting this country into the mess it is now in," Saunders claimed.

Saunders said he is "highly complimented" by these visits because they show both Demo-

crats and Republicans are worried about the race.

He said 6th District voters "are smart enough to know that the colorless local candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties are the names that will be on the ballot and not some outsiders."

Saunders singled out a television news interview last week with Rep. Wiggins, on his way to Emory & Henry College via Roanoke, as an effort "to back up support" for confirmation of former New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller as vice president.

Saunders said Rockefeller is "Butler's favorite" and he criticized Rockefeller's "flagrant dishonesty" and said his wealth, his oil interests and financial ties disqualify him as a candidate for vice president.

Saunders said the American people don't want Rockefeller as "an unelected vice president."

Saunders added that, "For some strange reason, Paul Puckett, the Democratic candidate, is not speaking out against Butler's support of Rockefeller."

"I suspect this is because the liberal Democrat majority in Congress wants to confirm Rockefeller and Mr. Puckett does not want to go on record and in opposition and therefore alienate his liberal supporters," Saunders said.

He said this is proof that

there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic candidates and he charged the "liberal-controlled Congress . . . will bow to the New York and Chicago banking interests and join with their Republican colleagues in Rockefeller's confirmation."

Saunders said he has already gone on record as opposing Rockefeller's nomination "if I am elected before he is confirmed. Why doesn't Mr. Puckett state his position?"

Sun Sep 29  
R.T. 1974



# Not much economy, Butler finds

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Staff Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler said today that Congress still apparently is not serious about cutting federal spending, if a recent action is any sign.

He noted that Congress recently in considering a supplemental appropriations bill added on about 5 per cent more than was originally requested. Thus, he said, the bill ended up calling for \$385 million more in spending.

"That's why I voted against it," the 6th District congressman said.

"There's no self-discipline in Congress yet," he added.

He said in this case the President will probably sign the bill because necessary funds are included in it.

Butler said the only way such action can be headed off is to give the President the right of item veto—that is, the right to pick out certain items and veto them rather than having to approve or reject a whole bill. The governor of Virginia now has such a right, Butler pointed out.

Butler has long favored giving the President the right of item veto (it was a plank in his platform in 1972) and he said that he has gotten a commitment from Rep. Peter Rodino to start hearings next month on a constitutional amendment that would give the President this right.

Rodino is head of the House Judiciary Committee, which considers constitutional amendments. Butler is a member of that committee.

The hearings will start after Congress goes back to its work after a recess that begins a week from today and ends Nov. 12.

In other comments today, Butler said that perhaps the most that could be said for the economic summitry of President Ford was that it brought home the fact that there is no instant solution to the current inflation.

"It's going to be a long haul," said Butler. "I think people have come to realize that."

Butler said he thought that the way the administration

plans to attack inflation may become clearer when President Ford gives his thoughts on the subject in a major address next Tuesday.

The adjournment of Congress is expected to heat up the 6th District congressional race, which so far has not been terribly exciting.

It is not clear just yet whether there will be extensive debating in the campaign, which has just a month to go.

Paul Puckett, the Democratic candidate, earlier this week criticized Butler for what he said was his failure to accept debate challenges. Butler said today he'd rather not reply to Puckett.

## Butler's integrity

FOR AN opponent of M. Caldwell Butler to call him a "rubber-stamp" representative is unpardonable. Mr. Butler is his own man. He votes according to his convictions. His honesty and integrity would not allow him to do otherwise.

His intelligence, candor and wit have now become familiar to Sixth District voters. These attributes, coupled with his outstanding record in the state legislature are only a part of his qualifications. His attendance, voting record and outstanding performance on the Judiciary Committee this past summer confirm his ability to perform in the manner that true Virginians expect. As a matter of fact, Mr. Butler is the closest thing to a true statesman that Virginia has sent to Washington for a long time!

Mr. Butler's campaign has necessarily been low-key. He is doing what he's supposed to be doing—attending to his elected job. However, when he occasionally campaigns, he seldom makes slanderous remarks regarding his opponents. A note to his aspiring opponents: Slander seldom gains a vote.

Mr. Butler's slogan "You know he's there" is certainly appropriate. Long may he stay!

Roanoke

MRS. THOMAS C. LEE

W. H. - Fri Oct 4, '74



President's Ford Speech to  
Joint Session on Inflation  
House of Representatives

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William M. Miller  
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# Butler Says Incident Cost Mills His Power R.T. Oct 9 1974

By JIM SHAVER  
Times Staff Writer

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler told a Lions Club gathering at Hotel Roanoke Thursday night that a bizarre incident involving Arkansas Rep. Wilbur Mills has cost the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee his power in Congress.

Mills was involved last week in an early morning incident when police stopped a speeding car, and a woman, identified as a former dancer, jumped from the vehicle into water nearby. The woman was pulled to safety.

Mills was in the automobile but was not driving.

"It's a pretty ignoble end for a distinguished career," Butler said. He said he felt that when Mills returns to Washington he will be "emasculated."

Holding up one of President Gerald Ford's anti-inflation WIN buttons, Butler told Lions members and their wives that "everybody in Congress says it says 'Wilbur Is Naughty'."

Butler said that "Wilbur Mills is one of the great bright men in Congress" but that the incident undercut his power there.

Butler told a reporter after the meeting that he would not predict what effect the incident would have on Mills' reelection chances but said Mills was just

not going to be as powerful as he has been in Congress.

Butler gave the Lions his views on the revenue sharing program during his prepared remarks then answered questions from the floor.

Butler was asked about former New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's chances of being confirmed by Congress as vice president in light of disclosures that he had made large monetary gifts to friends.

Butler predicted that a lot would be said about the gifts before the Nov. 5 elections but "I think after the elections that it'll die down."

He said that judgment on the nomina-

tion should be reserved until Rockefeller can testify before the House Judiciary Committee. Butler is a member of that committee.

Butler said he was critical of his committee for not staying in Washington to interview Rockefeller.

Asked by a reporter for his reaction to Sen. William Scott's statement Thursday that Scott will vote against Rockefeller's confirmation, Butler said he did not want to be interviewed about the statement. "I don't think it is my responsibility to react" to Scott's stand, Butler said.

R.T. Oct. 10, '74

## Gov. Godwin To Address Butler Appreciation Dinner

Gov. Muls E. Godwin Jr. will be the principal speaker Oct. 22 at a dinner in Salem for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Butler's campaign headquarters announced Wednesday.

The "Caldwell Butler Appreciation Dinner" will be held at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center.

A news release from Butler's headquarters quoted

### Alaska Spruce Big

NOME — Alaska's state tree, the Sitka spruce, is the largest of all spruces and is prized for boat-building because of its strength and lightness.

Godwin as saying Wednesday that "Butler is a proven and experienced legislator, a man of demonstrated ability and great dedication."

Godwin also described Butler as "a man of action, a responsible and at the same time responsive representative of the philosophy which meets with the approval of the majority of the people in Virginia."

Godwin said Butler's record during his first two years in the House of Representatives "warrants his return to the Congress, particularly at a time when the nation needs experienced stewardship."



# 6th District Candidates Quizzed by League

The Leagues of Women Voters in the 6th District Wednesday afternoon released responses of the four congressional candidates to five prepared questions.

The candidates are Timothy A. McGay, independent; Warren D. Saunders, American party; Paul J. Puckett, Democratic party; and M. Caldwell Butler, Republican party.

The following are the questions and the candidates' answers:

*What specific measures would you support to combat inflation?*

• McGay: "Short range, there are three fronts for fighting inflation: (1) Federal government should adopt a sound fiscal and monetary policy. (End deficit spending.) (2) Labor and Business. Both sides must realize that the wage-price pushing has become shoving. They must slack off on their demands. I oppose wage-price control by the federal government. (3) Consumer. Resistance to inflated prices, reduced credit buying and efforts to save more would be the most forceful tools in fighting inflation. Long range: Manpower programs and increased productivity."

• Saunders: "Balance the budget and stop deficit spending."

• Puckett: "Inflation must be stopped and brought under control by making sure that the federal Reserve Bank controls the flow of money so as to assure that the production of goods and services are available to support such money flow. Available funds should be directed to the industries dealing with products in short supply, such as homes, food, etc., rather than permitting speculative use of such funds."

• Butler: "Reduction in federal spending to a level no higher than \$300 billion for fiscal year 1975; eliminate deficit financing for fiscal year 1976 and succeeding years, applying surplus to the national

debt; increase authority to restrict exports of scarce commodities; develop further tax incentives to expand industrial productive capacity; curtail depletion allowances for foreign investments and continue encouragement of agriculture production."

*Do you believe the goal set by the U.S. Congress (in 1949) of a "decent home for every American" is possible? If so, what specific measures would you support to achieve that goal?*

• McGay: "I believe the goal is possible if we can stabilize population growth world-wide and if we can get on top of inflation and high interest rates. World demand for our building products (Japan is an example) will increase in the future, making the goal more difficult and expensive to attain. We must improve our international relations and start working for a stabilized world population."

• Saunders: "I do not believe that it is possible at this point. Congress has tried to be everything to everybody and this is impossible. They presented to the people a lot of false hope."

• Puckett: "The goal of a decent house for every American is possible in this country, if congressional and administrative leadership believe sincerely in this goal. Funds must be made available at reasonable interest if this goal is to be attained."

• Butler: "The Omnibus Housing Bill enacted Aug. 15, 1974, should go a long way toward carrying us closer to this goal. I would be reluctant to enact additional housing legislation until it has been fairly tested; but I am concerned about the ever-increasing cost of money. Hopefully, successful action to reduce inflation will also cause interest rates to decline."

*Proposed campaign finance reforms include provisions for combined federal and private financing, limitations on contributions, and expenditures and the establishment of an*

*independent agency to oversee the process. Please explain your support or opposition to these proposals.*

• McGay: "I oppose campaign financing by the federal government and I oppose special interest groups and labor organizations supporting candidates financially. I feel that only individuals should be allowed to contribute a maximum of \$3,000 to a candidate's campaign. I think the present system of filing with the federal and state governments is sufficient without having to establish an independent agency and thus adding another bureaucracy."

• Saunders: "I oppose the present reform bill. As presented, it would benefit present

office holders: I do think there should be limitation on contributions as well as expenditures."

• Puckett: "Proposed campaign finance reform should be a combination of federal and private with limitations on private expenditures. Individual participation is important in that it gives citizens an opportunity to become a part of the political process."

• Butler: "As a member of the committee concerned with elections, I supported every effort to limit campaign contributions and expenditures and will continue to do so. I was disappointed that my colleagues did not agree to my amendment which would limit contributions to individual cit-

izens. I oppose public financing of elections as an inappropriate use of the taxpayers' money. I strongly support an election law enforcement agency independent of the Congress, accompanied by stringent disclosure requirements."

*What level of government, if any—federal, state or local—should establish guidelines for land use controls? What level should assume responsibility for implementation? Please explain.*

• McGay: "I would like to see the state and local governments work together in establishing guidelines for land use with the state government responsible for implementation. Thoughtful, long-range plan-

ning now can insure a better social, environmental and economic atmosphere in the future. If the states and localities refuse to act, the federal government will take the initiative."

• Saunders: "The local level should establish guidelines for land use controls. The local government should implement the same."

• Puckett: "It seems to me that the federal government must establish guidelines for land control so as to have a uniform approach. A joint effort on the part of federal, state and local governments should be expected to be responsible for the implementation."

• Butler: "It is most appro-

priate that land use controls be implemented at the local level. Not infrequently, it is necessary that policies and guidelines be established at higher level of government. If the state and local governments assume their proper responsibilities in this area, it should not be necessary for the federal government to invade their traditional province."

*Do you believe that environmental protection measures should be relaxed in view of the energy crisis? If so, what specific measures and under what circumstances?*

• McGay: "I do not believe that environmental protection measures should be relaxed in view of the energy crisis. I believe the answers to the en-

ergy crisis is in conserving and not wasting energy supplies, by not allowing energy producers to invest in other fields. For example, Mobil's recent move to diversify. As a representative I can set an example of a more basic, less wasteful lifestyle that we Americans must adopt."

• Saunders: "I think you should keep a balance based on the economic impact it may have."

• Puckett: "Environmental protection measures are very important and should not be relaxed except in exceptional circumstances that may have adverse effect on people."

• Butler: "Yes, as circumstances indicate."



# THE BOTETOURT COUNTY NEWS and THE FINCASTLE HERALD

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1974

THE HOME NEWS EVERY WEEK

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ESTABLISHED 1866

FINCASTLE, VIRGINIA 24090

39

## 20 Persons Are Indicted On 36 Charges By October Circuit Court Grand Jury

Twenty persons were indicted on 36 charges in true bills returned Monday by the grand jury for the October term of Circuit Court for Botetourt County. Included in the indictments were one for murder, two for rape, and two for abduction and sodomy, and two for assault and abduction.

Jerry Wayne Millirons, 22, of Troutville, was indicted for abduction and sodomy in connection with the alleged September 25 disappearance and molestation of a 12-year-old Troutville girl.

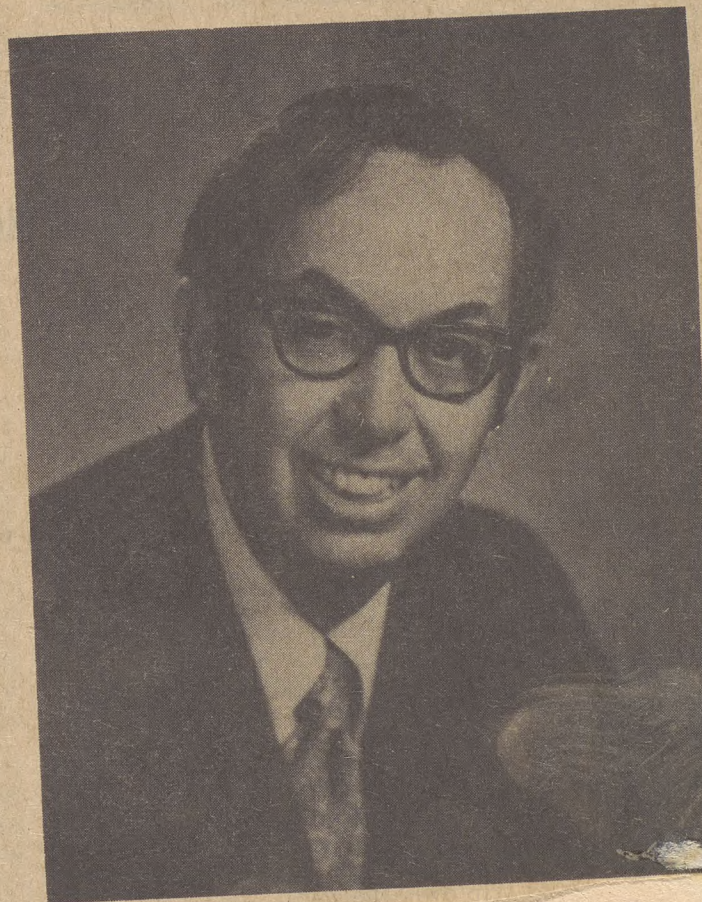
Larry Lee Montree and Ronald Alex Patram, both of Roanoke, were indicted for rape in connection with the alleged sexual assault of a Montvale woman on the Blue Ridge Parkway in Botetourt County. Montree also was indicted for robbery. A Roanoke juvenile also is charged in connection with the incident.

Edna Lam, 39, of Fincastle, was indicted for the alleged March 28 poison murder of her 70-year-old husband, Jack Lam. The indictment was on a direct presentment to the grand jury. District Court for Botetourt County previously refused to certify the charge to the grand jury after a preliminary hearing.

Other indictments returned by the grand jury include:

- Thomas Neil Edmonson, breaking and entering and grand larceny.
- Cecil Stewart Clark, driving after being declared an habitual offender.
- Paul M. Tingler, four counts of breaking and entering.
- George C. Hebble, escape.
- Sylvester Conrad Johnson, escape.
- Cletis Massey, escape.
- Debra Brode Francisco, distributing heroin.
- Larry Dale Crotts, escape.
- Robert Kern Holloway, breaking and entering.

(Continued on Page 2)



M. Caldwell Butler



# Labor Killed Reform Plans, Butler Tells Management

R.T. O.J. 15, 1974

By GEORGE KEGLEY  
Times Business Editor

The "tremendous impact" of organized labor successfully eliminated all proposals opposed by unions in the recent committee reorganization plan in Congress, according to 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler.

Speaking at the annual meeting of Roanoke Valley Industries, a labor relations organization of management Monday night, Butler said, "If ever a study was needed, this was it, but organized labor violently opposed" some changes and they were omitted.

Again, the Republican congressman said labor "killed efforts to make in kind contributions reportable" under the Campaign Reform Act.

In kind contributions of political work by labor union employees is valued at \$75 to \$100 million in a congressional election year, he said.

Butler said committee members, in their first talks, said it was ridiculous to exempt in kind contributions from reporting but when the vote was taken the next day, labor's "overnight work" was successful and the reporting amendment failed.

Pooled cash contributions are "the principal problem in the American political system today," he said, and he offered amendments to restrict them and to require that they be from individuals. "But both were labeled as antilabor and predictably defeated."

Butler said he backed an amendment to prohibit distribution of food stamps to strikers but he blamed labor for its defeat.

It is unfortunate, he said, that President Ford's economic message came "on the threshold of an election. It's hard to get members of Congress to think about anything

except the impact the message will have on their own situation."

Butler called it "a real temptation to pull out the goodies and leave the hard part behind. We will have to get firmer and have a traumatic experience from the legislative part."

The 5 per cent surtax on incomes of \$15,000 and higher has "a threshold that is way too low. It hits the wrong guy."

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said he serves on a subcommittee that is getting ready this week to start an inquiry into Nelson Rockefeller's qualifications to be vice president.

The FBI has completed its investigation "and we will review the raw data, five volumes." The subcommittee will complete its work "shortly," he said, and hearings probably will start by Nov. 16.

Hearings could be over by Thanksgiving, Butler said, "and I certainly would think the 93rd Congress will not go home without confirming or rejecting" Rockefeller. But he

gave no prediction of the outcome.

Butler said many people ask what former Gov. Linwood Holton is doing in the State Department "and I share your curiosity somewhat."

Explaining Holton's role as congressional liaison, he said it is "somewhat to his credit" that opposition to a strategic bill was reduced from 115 to 10 votes.

Last week's incident involving the "extracurricular peccadillos of a surperannuated committee chairman (Rep. Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee) . . . perhaps" marks an "ignoble end to a great career," Butler said. Mills and an Argentine woman were in an auto mishap in Washington.

He gave a humorous description of some of the differences between his service in the General Assembly and in Congress where "a dog-eat-dog" atmosphere exists in floor debate.

Under the "revise and extend" practice, Butler said members of Congress can "say most anything and then edit the copy to what you really want to say."



## Butler Urges

## Coordination On Energy

Failure of the government to pool information on the energy situation contributed to the crisis the United States faces today, U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said Wednesday.

Butler, speaking to the Virginia Gasoline Retailers Association, Inc., in Roanoke, said that while indications of shortages have been evident for some time, no one person was in the position to pull all this knowledge together.

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He praised President Ford's creation of a national energy board to oversee the entire energy program, but said "it falls short of what we really need. The necessity for further congressional action to create a separate department of energy and natural resources with all appropriate agencies to be transferred to it, is clearly indicated."

Butler warned of the prospects of short-range shortages of energy supplies, but said the problems can be overcome.



# Settle Rockefeller case before election: Butler

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

WASHINGTON — Rep. Caldwell Butler today called for the matter of Nelson Rockefeller's nomination to be settled before the Nov. 5 election.

At the same time, the 6th District congressman said the House Judiciary Committee, on which he serves, may take a line of inquiry "which I had not originally anticipated."

Butler said his position remains the same as when on

Aug. 30 he told voters of the 6th District that the President deserves to pick his own vice president. He said then it's highly important that the President have a man he can work with.

Butler said, too, at that time that Rockefeller would undergo intensive investigation by the Judiciary committee, which will consider the nomination of Rockefeller to be vice president.

Today, in a lengthy statement, Butler said:

"We owe it to the candidate and to the American people to resolve all questions of fact before passing final judgment on the qualifications of Nelson Rockefeller to serve as vice president."

"My own responsibility at this time is to seek out the facts and reserve final judgment until the appropriate time."

"I agree with Nelson Rockefeller that public hearings prior to the election are indicated and I have urged this from the first."

"The American people are entitled to have the question of the confirmation of his nomination resolved before the election. But the Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives has seen fit to delay hearings until mid-November."

"I hope they will reconsider. We should keep in mind that it took only eight weeks

from the nomination of Gerald Ford to be vice president until his final confirmation by both houses Congress."

"The Rockefeller nomination has been before us since Aug. 20."



Sen. Howard Baker

## Facts about CIA upset Sen. Baker

By DOUG STONE  
Associated Press Writer

MEMPHIS (AP) — Sen. Howard Baker, R-Tenn., who served as vice chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee, says the partial knowledge he acquired about the Central Intelligence Agency has left him "frightened."

"I don't think anybody in Congress knows what the intelligence community is up to," Baker said in an interview Tuesday.

Baker said that as the Senate investigated the breakin at Democratic party quarters in the Watergate office complex, "the CIA influence popped up so many times. Every person at the Watergate had a CIA connection. One says even now that he believed he was working for the CIA."

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The proposal is now before the Government Operations Committee.

"I'm not declaring war on intelligence or even the CIA," Baker said. "There is a real need for intelligence, even secret intelligence — perhaps covert operations. But the thing that disturbs me is that I am not sure whether any of us have any knowledge of the way they are being conducted."

He said estimates of CIA spending range from \$800 million to \$1.5 billion per year "and there are from 80,000 to 150,000 people involved."

"I am afraid of that," he said. "I'm frightened ... it leaves me scared."

## Butler says Va. waters oil-rich

By FRANK HANCOCK  
Environmental Writer

Tapping the oil resources off the Virginia coast could make the state one of the major oil-producing states in the nation, Rep. Caldwell Butler said last night.

Butler supported both the efforts of drilling for oil in the Atlantic Ocean off Virginia and the Alaskan pipeline project, which has already been approved by Congress.

Butler said he would draw criticism from environmentalists, but he felt the energy situation will make it necessary for them to relax somewhat.

In addition to his proposal to authorize offshore drilling, Butler said that he feels there should be a system of deep water ports offshore to channel oil through pipelines and avoid oil spillage incidents.

Butler spoke to the Virginia Gasoline Retailers Association here.

James W. Heizer, executive secretary of the association, told the group that although he is an avowed Democrat, he felt that Butler had done well in his homework on the oil situation.

Butler said the Middle East countries have raised the price of oil to almost untenable levels. He said they will have to back down.

Butler criticized President Ford for not coordinating the environmental protection measures needed in the nation and said "legislation has at last been enacted to create an energy research and development administration, placing all government energy research under one roof."

"This should eliminate a great deal of duplication of effort, but it is not the total answer," he said.

Butler told the gasoline dealers that, for the immediate

future, "we must tighten our belts."

Butler went on to say that two things are clear: "We are going to have to engage in a massive hunt for additional deposits, deposits of oil, gas and coal, and we must develop new sources of energy."

He said that "no matter how hard and successfully we look for oil, coal and gas, sooner or later we will run out."

Butler, who was introduced by Heizer, told the gasoline dealers they should support moves in Congress to make known reserves of energy available.

Butler mentioned the oil reserves on the north slope of

Alaska and said another source of oil is in the rock formations known as oil shale in western states.

"The estimated reserves there are over one trillion barrels," he said. "But the accompanying problems of pollution and waste disposal are frightening to contemplate. Progress is being made in unproved procedures for extracting the oil from the shale, but they are far from perfect," he said.

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Butler warned of the prospects of short-range shortages of energy supplies, but said the problems can be overcome. "Some persons and industries are going to be severely hurt during this period, and the government will be doing all it can for them. Most of us will be inconvenienced, but we are not likely to be confronted with anything we cannot cope with."

"If everyone retains the commitment to energy conservation shown to date, if we can strike a reasonable balance between energy needs and the need to protect the environment, and if we make the necessary organizational changes and research efforts, then I believe we will come out of this in much better condition than before," he said.

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"When we asked for more information during the Watergate investigation, what we ran up against was a stone wall," Baker said.

Despite criticism of the CIA, Baker was among those who helped turn back a bid in the Senate earlier this month that would have prohibited all secret U.S. intelligence activities. The Senate voted only to bar covert spy operations unless they are specifically requested by the President.

Baker is the sponsor of a measure that would create a congressional oversight committee that would monitor more than 50 intelligence branches, ranging from the CIA to the Internal Revenue Service.

The proposal is now before the Government Operations Committee.

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Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler explains his reactions to President Gerald Ford's inflation-fighting proposals at the Central Virginia Planning District Commission's annual dinner meeting, which was held Saturday night at the Holiday Inn North, Monroe. The meeting was dedicated to the late Elmo O. Baldwin, member of the board of supervisors who served as a Planning District Commissioner until his death last month.

## Butler Says "WIN" Could Help

President Gerald Ford's "Whip Inflation Now (WIN)" program can benefit farmers and other proposals is considering could help small businessmen, according to Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, but results will be only "cosmetic" unless Amherst Countians and their neighbors throughout Virginia enlist in the battle against the increasing cost of living.

Butler made the remarks in a 30 minute speech Saturday evening before 85 local elected officials and other citizens at the Central Virginia Planning District Commission's annual dinner meeting, held at the Holiday Inn North in Monroe.

The President's 10 per cent investment tax credit proposal will benefit and encourage those who invest in farm machinery, Butler pointed out. The Congressman who represents Amherst County pointed out that the President also mentioned allocation of fertilizer to protect the farmer.

**"There is no clear authority to allocate fertilizer under existing law," Butler stated, adding that "Congress should act quickly to accomplish this."**

"I favor legislation to permit allocation of fertilizer, with priority for domestic consumption. We might recognize that natural gas provides one of the major components of our fertilizer. One way to increase our fertilizer production is to increase natural gas, also recommended by the President."

He criticized Congress for its reluctance to accept legislation

and report it out on matters pertaining to energy.

"Another embarrassment of the Congress was the reluctance with which it accepted legislation to clear the way for the Alaskan pipeline. We are well behind schedule on this project, which could be supplying over 10 per cent of our total oil requirements right now, purely because of the recalcitrance of the United States Congress."

**Speaking to the needs of small businessmen, the Virginia Congressman said both houses of Congress have passed legislation to create a national commission on paperwork to review the excessive paperwork and red tape requirements imposed on businesses by the government, and the regulatory processes which complement this effort.**

"I cannot express too strongly my sympathy for the harassed small businessman who finds his meager profits consumed by the overhead requirements of government reporting, particularly when the reports are often ignored or do not provide the basis for reasonable legislation."

The member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, which participated in the historic confirmation of President Ford, suggested that although Sixth District residents are suffering greatly from the economic distress, "we are not experiencing rates of unemployment as high as the rest of the nation. We must be sensitive to the fact that extraor-

dinary plant closings are a possibility in various parts of our district, and that, were it not for the superior quality of labor available, a substantial unemployment problem would be easily predictable."

He questioned the wisdom of extended unemployment insurance benefits, to be paid out of the national general treasury.

"We in Virginia have had a very fine experience with our unemployment insurance, and we have one of the lowest unemployment insurance rates in the nation. I would therefore be reluctant to see this sharp departure from established principle and question the principle of funding unemployment insurance from the general treasury."

He added that he would reserve final judgment until after he hears what the Commissioner of the Virginia Employment Commission, William L. Heartwell Jr., has to say in testimony on the proposals.

**Representative Butler reminded the local elected leaders and others gathered at the dinner that "We must keep foremost in our minds the plight of those who live on fixed incomes, particularly those elderly persons who must live on very limited incomes in the face of growing inflation, and remember them as the United States fashions weapons for the war against inflation."**

The member of the House of Representatives from Roanoke urged every resident of Virginia to participate in the Presi-

[Continued on page six]



# The News-Virginian

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## Butler Not Ready To Make Judgment on Rockefeller

By N-V Staff Writer

STAUNTON — Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler said in a press conference here this morning he did not think the disclosure that Vice President designate Nelson A. Rockefeller owed some \$900,000 in back income taxes "would place in jeopardy" the former New York governor's chances of confirmation by the Congress, assuming the reported filing errors were unintentional.

Mr. Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which is considering Mr. Rockefeller's nomination, was here this morning to address the 133rd Founder's Day Convocation at Mary Baldwin College. The Congressman added that his knowledge of the most recent development in the hearings was "almost limited to the headlines."

Mr. Butler said he was "not prepared to make a judgment at this moment" on the confirmation, but added, "if the vote were taken at this time, I would not say the majority of the Senate would vote as Sen. (William L.) Scott," who announced recently that he would not approve Rockefeller's nomination.

Asked about the President's recent economic proposals, Mr. Butler said he was "encouraged" by them but was opposed to Mr. Ford's proposal for a surtax on incomes of more than \$15,000.

"It puts the threshold far too low" and would be used to keep federal spending at an equal or higher level, he said, noting that he might "take another look at the surtax if it would be used to reduce the deficit or be applied to the (national) debt."

The prospect of a "veto-pr

Congress resulting from next month's Election Day balloting Mr. Butler termed "frightening." He noted that he is supporting a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would increase the President's veto power, allowing him to disapprove of individual items of the budget and of appropriations bills rather than passing on the measures as a whole.

Mr. Butler was asked what he was most proud of in his past term as Sixth District representative.

"Survival," he responded. "It's been a hard two years ... I'm proudest of the fact that I had problems that I didn't anticipate and was satisfied that I was equal to the job."

In his speech at the ceremony marking the 133rd anniversary (Turn to Page 2, Col. 6)

Police were notified.

Reportedly, Mr. and Mrs. Tiffany were also notified and immediately went to the scene.

Visible damage to the four-passenger light aircraft included both landing gears, the right wing, and a side of the plane from the engine. The propeller was also bent.

The aircraft was detected on radar at Shenandoah Airport, and authorities had pinpointed the spot where the plane "went down."

Units from the Stuarts Draft Rescue Squad and the Augusta County Fire Department were among those at the scene.

Tpr. E. R. Myers Jr. was the initial investigating officer.



AT FOUNDER'S DAY — Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler (center) reviews program for the 133rd Founder's Day Convocation this morning at Mary Baldwin

College. Looking on with Mr. Butler, who addressed the convocation, are Dr. William W. Kelly, Mary Baldwin president, and Dr. Ethel Smeak, dean of students.

(N-V Photo by Kehoe)

an amendment to the state constitution which would allow the state government to make outright grants to Virginia residents wishing to attend institutions of higher education and to non-sectarian private institutions.

The Congressman said the influence of the federal government "could endanger the individuality and the quality of private schools" but that federal and state aid "is the ingredient which can save our system of higher education from being dominated by a few large, state — supported institutions."

All You Can Rule



# Congressional Races Heat Up; Outsiders Move In

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Outsiders in increasing numbers are adding to the tempo of political activity in Southwest Virginia as the campaigns in the 6th and 9th Districts really get underway now that Congress has recessed until after the Nov. 5 elections.

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. will be the feature attraction at a Republican dinner for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center Tuesday night.

And next Saturday U.S. Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Democrats' whip, will be in Roanoke for on behalf of

Sheriff Paul J. Puckett, Butler's opponent.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz whom the Democrats have made the whipping boy in seeking farmers' votes will be in Marion for a Chamber of Commerce sponsored speech Tuesday night is being promoted by Rep. William C. Wampler who is in a tough fight to save his seat. Butz will get a chance to speak out for Wampler, ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee, and answer some of the attacks by his Democratic opponent, Charles J. Horne.

Sen. Byrd, who does not rule out the possibility of seeking the Democratic

nomination for president, will speak at a rally for Horne at Appalachia Saturday afternoon before coming to Roanoke.

The Bible-quoting senator will start the day at a breakfast meeting in Winchester for the Democrats' candidate in the 7th, Charlottesville lawyer George H. Gilliam.

Gov. Arch A. Moore of West Virginia will be the keynote speaker at a tri-county rally for Wampler at the armory in Richlands Monday, Oct. 28, at 7 p.m.

Now that Congress has recessed, Clerk of the House of Representatives W. Pat Jennings, who lost the House seat to Wampler in 1966, will hit the road for

Horne who is given the best chance of winning one of the seven Republican held House seats in Virginia.

Atty. Gen. Andrew P. Miller will join Jennings and Horne at a Democrat dinner at the high school in Galax Wednesday at 7 p.m.

U.S. Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas has been in the 6th on behalf of Puckett and in the 9th on behalf of Wampler already. President Ford, at the time vice president, was in Roanoke for Butler. While he is at the dinner with Godwin, Butler's three opponents will be participating in a Roanoke Jaycee sponsored

forum Tuesday evening at the Franklin Road Holiday Inn.

Butler likely will come under fire for not appearing from his challengers, Democrat Paul J. Puckett, American party candidate Warren D. Saunders, and independent Timothy McGay. Saunders criticizes both Butler and Puckett for what he calls their reliance on "surrogate candidates."

Butler plans to participate in a forum—to which all four have been invited—Thursday night in Waynesboro.

Details of Sen. Byrd's appearance in Roanoke on Puckett's behalf still are to be worked out but, District Chairman

Clifton A. Woodrum III said it likely will be an informal reception, possibly at Hotel Roanoke.

Horne and the Democrats in the 9th are claiming Butz's appearance Tuesday night is a big break for them.

But the Wampler organization seems to see it otherwise, in lining up a press conference for the controversial secretary at the Holiday Inn in Marion prior to the dinner.

Chamber of Commerce officials anticipate a crowd of 340 for the dinner in the high school cafeteria. Butz's speech will be held in the school auditorium following the dinner with the public invited.



George N. McMath

## McMath Gets GOP Olive Branch

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

LEXINGTON — Skeptical members of the 6th District Republican Committee Saturday extended an olive branch to the new state GOP chairman, a former Democrat, who assured them he will work to elect Republicans.

"I shall not shirk that obligation and responsibility," George N. McMath, a former Democrat who switched to the GOP last year and won reelection to the House of Delegates on the Eastern Shore, assured party leaders.

A letter from McMath to Del. Raymond R. Robrecht, R-

Roanoke County, was released at a committee meeting here to make the final plans for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's reelection campaign.

Robrecht had opposed McMath's election as state chairman under a compromise agreement sponsored by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. to head off a factional fight over the successor to Richard D. Obenshain, now co-chairman of the Republican National Committee.

District Chairman William B. Poff of Roanoke, who was the choice of the "mountain and valley boys" in the party, urged his committee to give McMath a chance to prove himself.

The committee scheduled its next meeting and a luncheon for Saturday, Jan. 18, and invited McMath to attend.

Poff said Kenneth Klinge, executive director, had called from state GOP headquarters in Richmond to advise him that McMath wanted to set up a series of meetings with district committees after the congressional election.

Moderate Republicans aligned with Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton from the Valley and Southwest Virginia opposed McMath but acquiesced after Dalton agreed to the compromise because they feared McMath would be reluctant to organize Republican campaigns against old friends among Democrats in the General Assembly.

McMath, a weekly newspaper publisher on the Eastern Shore, acknowledged that Godwin, a former Democrat

heading the GOP's ticket last year, said he could not oppose a few Democrats seeking reelection because they "were long time political associates whose philosophy was similar to his own."

"In my case, as state chairman, I have an obligation and responsibility to create an effective organization which sponsors qualified candidates and enthusiastically works for all of them," McMath wrote Robrecht.

The letter was mentioned at the meeting by Mrs. Charles Glover, Roanoke County chairman, who had opposed McMath as a compromise candidate for the state chairmanship. She preferred a proven Republican.

Poff suggested the fact McMath wrote the letter is evidence, to him, that McMath will be a good chairman and that skeptics should "bear with him."

Poff, a Roanoke lawyer who managed Lt. Gov. Dalton's winning campaign last year, acknowledged there was opposition to McMath when the compromise was made public because of "his newness to the party and his association with some elements of the party."

Poff, who had worked with McMath when McMath was state Jaycee president, said the experience convinced him McMath has strong qualities of leadership "and can make us a good chairman."

But Poff and others on the district committee drew a line against one of McMath's first proposals as state chairman—creation of a committee to

draft a set of principles for Republicans in Virginia.

"We've had principles for years," Covington-Alleghany County Chairman Ray Haymaker remarked.

Other party leaders in Butler's district saw nothing to be gained by arguing over words.

Poff remarked that trying to write a creed would be a "mistake" and "it would be counterproductive for the committee to make a report."

The committee on party principles is one of five McMath proposes creating in a memorandum to members of the state central committee.

McMath wrote Robrecht that he did not actively seek the state chairmanship because of this newness to the GOP but agreed to be a "consensus" chairman because he believes in the principles of more the Republican party.

McMath in his letter to Robrecht noted that in switching to the GOP he gave up the chairmanship of the Courts of Justice Committee in the Democrat-controlled House of Delegates.

McMath wrote that he has no regrets over becoming a Republican and losing the committee chairmanship "in order to affiliate with a party in whose principles I believe."

City and county chairmen made reports on work for Butler who has stuck close to Washington—except on weekends—with the House in session. Poff said he thinks Butler will get from 51 to 55 per cent of the vote.

## Butler Says Foe Would Aid Liberals

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said Saturday night the election of Paul J. Puckett in the 6th District would be a liberal Democratic move towards their goal of a veto-proof Congress.

And, the Republican congressman declared, if Democrats have the strength to block any veto by President Ford it will bring on spending in Washington "any reasonable person would be fearful to contemplate."

Puckett, Butler told a GOP dinner, would become part of the Democratic caucus controlled by liberals.

Butler, free now that Congress is in recess until after the Nov. 5 elections, spoke to about 200 at an annual ham dinner at Lord Botetourt High School sponsored by the Botetourt County GOP Committee. Some were from Roanoke and Roanoke County.

Butler said Puckett and his other challengers have been free to criticize him while he has been tied down in Washington and he indicated that now, he is home he is going to have some things to say himself.

Butler was introduced by State Sen. David F. Thornton whose district includes Botetourt County.

Thornton said it has been "a horrendous year of crisis" but

Republicans cannot afford to "withdraw into our shells"—they must work as never before.

Butler said the most discouragement he finds is in the Republican cloakroom at the Capitol, but when he gets back home and starts talking to the people he is not pessimistic.

Butler reviewed the pledges he made in winning his first term in 1972 and acknowledged that he ran as part of the Nixon's team and profited by the mandate Nixon received—72 per cent of the vote in the 6th district.

Butler voted for the first two articles of impeachment as a member of the House Judiciary Committee during its televised deliberations—a stand in the Watergate scandal that has cost him the support of some influential Republicans in the district.

Butler reminded his audience that in the 1972 campaign he called excessive spending the major contributor to inflation.

Congress, with his support, has adopted a control act which will require future sessions to set a ceiling on spending based on projected revenues each year before it undertakes to prepare a budget.



At MBC Founders' Day

Staunton News-Leader - Sun Oct 20

1974

## Butler endorses grant amendment

In a speech during Founder's Day ceremonies at Mary Baldwin College Saturday, U.S. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler endorsed a proposed amendment to the state constitution which will appear on the Nov. 5 ballot allowing the state to make grants to residents wishing to attend institutions of higher education and grants directly to non-sectarian private institutions.

Rep. Butler stressed the "tremendous service" which these private institutions perform by "relieving the government of a burden that it would otherwise bear."

"Unless the public sector wishes to assume this entire responsibility, we must recognize the necessity of assisting private institutions and the students who wish to attend them so that they may continue to serve," he emphasized.

Rep. Butler cited the several ways in which the federal government already assists private institutions and their students. However, he pointed out that those grants given to students are primarily based on need, so that the students coming from a middle class background has no financial

alternative to mounting tuition costs.

"Many middle class families are recognizing that they simply cannot afford to send their children to private institutions," Rep. Butler asserted. "Institutions may soon find themselves populated by the very rich, who can afford the costs, and the very poor, who can receive financial aid."

The Representative quoted estimates that the educational costs have risen twice as fast as the consumer price index. He attributed these increases to construction costs, food and housing, equipment cost and labor costs which have "skyrocketed" over the past year. These cost increases have been passed to the student, which accounts for a 7.5 per cent rise in tuitions for private institutions in the past 10 years, he noted.

Rep. Butler continued by praising MBC's efforts in its program, New Dimensions, an attempt to raise funds through private sources.

Dr. William Kelly, president, said he was optimistic about the chances of the state amendment which Rep. Butler endorses.

"Those people who have become informed on the matter, overwhelmingly see it as essential," Dr. Kelly commented. "I am very pleased to see the editorial response which has been in favor of it also."

Dr. Kelly emphasized his own

attempts to keep the budget in line.

"This year we ran on a balanced budget...but only after much cutting in certain areas," the President stated. "We are very much committed to keeping balanced budgets."



**U.S. REP. M. CALDWELL BUTLER, right, chats with Dr. Frank R. Pancake, Staunton's mayor and member of Mary Baldwin College's faculty, after presenting the address at Founders' Day.**

(Photo by Pat Wechsler)



Monday, October 21, 1974

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# Butler Considered Heavy Favorite in 4-Man Race

By Gary Robertson  
Times-Dispatch State Staff

ROANOKE — Incumbent Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, hampered by a heavy congressional schedule, has returned to campaign in the 6th District against his fellow city resident, Democrat Paul Puckett.

And working hard to make their man a contender, American party faithful are campaigning for Warren D. Saunders of Bedford County.

Even though Saunders and Puckett are expected to pull in a lot of votes between them, it's generally agreed by most political observers that Butler is the heavy favorite in the Republican-dominated 6th District, which gave 75 per cent of its votes to former President Richard M. Nixon in the last presidential election.

Independent candidate Timothy McGay of Augusta County, who has been staging only a token campaign, isn't seen as a factor.

**BUTLER'S CONGRESSIONAL** schedule has kept him out of the district except on a spot basis. During the summer, he was in Washington much of the time as a member of the House Judiciary Committee studying the possible impeachment of Nixon.

It was Butler's participation on the Judiciary Committee that propelled him into the national spotlight, a position rarely achieved by a freshman representative. Just how the 49-year-old Butler will be affected at the polls, if at all,

by his vote to impeach Nixon and his impassioned speech against the former president has been the subject of considerable speculation.

It will remain speculation until the second Tuesday in November. However, it's generally believed that Butler's actions on the committee will not jeopardize his chances for a second term in Congress, even if Nixon loyalists desert him.

Puckett, 56, making scores of political ap-



pearances throughout the district, has been running hard to unseat Butler, but several informed Democrats say his candidacy has been somewhat weakened by a small campaign treasury. The Roanoke city sheriff and former stockbroker has been emphasizing economic reforms during his campaign and, like the other candidates, has suggested ways to defeat the nation's spiraling inflation.

**INFLATION CAN** be beaten, Puckett has suggested, by balancing the federal budget and reducing spending, maintaining a flow of money

from the Federal Reserve Bank to assure the production of goods and services, and ensuring that funds are channeled to industries dealing with products in short supply.

Butler's inflation-fighting steps include reduction of fiscal 1975 federal spending to \$300 billion and elimination of deficit spending thereafter and curtailment of depletion allowances for foreign investments.

Saunders has said simply that balancing the budget, stopping deficit spending and sharply curtailing foreign aid would go far toward curbing this country's inflation ills.

Saunders and Puckett have come out strongly against President Ford's suggested surtax on individuals with incomes of \$7,500 or more and families with incomes of \$15,000 or more. Butler, while generally supporting the President's package of inflation remedies, has expressed doubt that the surtax is needed now and said that it might result in "punishing additionally those who've already suffered greatest from inflation."

**THE CONGRESSMAN** has noted he would have the "courage" to vote for a surtax later, if the circumstances require it. The circumstances would involve reduction of the coming year's federal budget to \$300 billion, including the funds to implement the President's inflation-fighting proposals, and use of surtax revenues to balance the budget.

Although it would be an amazing upset if Saun-

ders won, a number of political observers now believe he will receive more votes in November than anyone ever thought he would in the early stages of his campaign.

Saunders, the 35-year-old president of a fertilizer supply firm, has spent heavily on media advertising and billboards throughout the district, and reportedly much of the money has come out of his own pocket.

A prominent Democrat in Roanoke indicated that Saunders' advertising blitz has made his name as familiar there as those of his two major opponents.

"Any time you turn on the television, you see Saunders," the Democrat said.

**SAUNDERS HAS** employed a Roanoke firm, Image Advertising, Inc., to handle his campaign, and one of the firm's first moves was to promote the American party candidate by his first name, Warren, rather than his more commonly used middle name, Delmar.

Much of the organized labor vote in the 6th District probably will go to Puckett, who has won the endorsement of the Virginia AFL-CIO. The union group also endorsed the Democratic candidate for Congress two years ago, former Roanoke Mayor Willis M. Anderson.

Some politicians and others have observed that a large segment of the voters in the 6th District may be turned off by the congressional

Continued on Page 3, Col. 6

## The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Monday, October 21, 1974 15

# 6th Dist. campaign heats up

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

Sixth District Republicans will have a major fund-raising affair tomorrow night when Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. comes to the Roanoke Valley to speak on behalf of Rep. Caldwell Butler.

A \$100-a-couple reception will precede a dinner at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center. The dinner will be \$7.50 per plate for those not going to the reception.

Sam Garrison will be master of ceremonies. This will be his first participation in local Republican affairs, since returning to Roanoke after his duties as chief minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee during the Nixon impeachment inquiry.

Mrs. John Dalton, wife of the lieutenant governor, will fill in for Mrs. Godwin, who is in England.

The reception will be at 6:30 and the dinner at 7:30.

Meanwhile, U.S. Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia is coming to Roanoke to campaign Saturday for Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett, a Democrat running against Butler.

Byrd, the Senate majority whip, will campaign for Puckett Saturday afternoon and speak that night.

Butler, Puckett and two other candidates in the race—Warren Saunders of the American Party and Timothy McGay, an independent—have been invited to speak to the Roanoke Jaycees tomorrow night, but Butler says he can't make it because of the GOP fund-raising affair.

Butler has declined several invitations to appear with his opponents and a WROV radio program for Sunday was cancelled because Butler couldn't make it.

Butler said earlier that his duties in Congress limit his campaign engagements, but Puckett says Butler seems to accept only the invitations he wants to.

Meanwhile, McGay has accused Butler of pulling "a disappearing act" when it comes to meeting with other candidates. "He has been able to completely shut us off," he said.

"The most discouraging thing in this campaign is that I haven't been able to catch up with him," said McGay.



## Security Seminar Set at UR

National security experts from Princeton, New York and Stanford universities will lead seminars for representatives of 12 area colleges and universities at the University of Richmond Friday as part of a two day national security program.

The program is sponsored by the University of Richmond law school and military science department, the National Security Education Program of New York University and the National Strategy Information Center, Inc.

Among the speakers on the program are Dr. Klaus E. Knorr, director of the Center for International Studies at Princeton University; Dr. Frank Trager, director of the National Security Program, NYU; and Dr. Wynfred Joshua, assistant director of the Strategic Studies Center at Stanford Research Center.

Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell, director of the Research Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, will open the session Friday at 11 a.m. with a discussion of "Detente, Oil and the Middle East," followed at 3:15 p.m. by Knorr and "Is Military Power Obsolete?" Both programs will take place on the UR campus.

Joshua will lead a discussion of trends in military balance in an evening program at Colony House Executive Motor Inn. The program will continue at 9 a.m. Saturday at UR with a discussion of "The Year of Europe: Ambiguities of the U.S.-Soviet Detente."

# Butler Called Favorite

*Continued From First Page*

race, because of disgust with politics in general stemming from the Watergate scandals.

Whether this disgust, if it is a prevailing sentiment, will manifest itself in a low voter turnout is conjecture. The blue law question, local issues and special elections may cause voters to turn out in large numbers in the 6th District regardless of their feelings about the congressional race.

Republicans have represented the 6th District in Congress for the last 22 years, with Richard H. Poff, now a justice of the Virginia Supreme Court, holding the seat for two decades. Waynesboro, Staunton and Augusta County, which were added to the district several years ago through reapportionment, have proven to be GOP strongholds.

In the last congressional election, Butler carried all but one locality, Lexington, in winning the election, but failed to receive a landslide victory. He drew 55 per cent of the vote to Democrat Anderson's 39 per cent and independent candidate Roy White's 6 per cent.



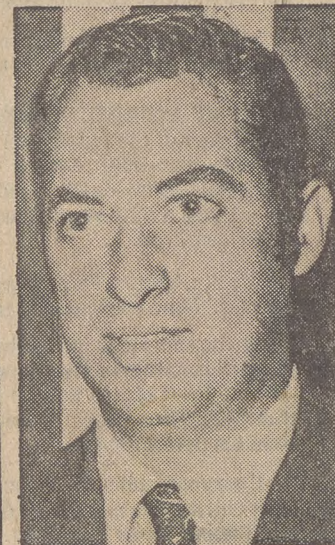
**M. Caldwell Butler**  
Incumbent Republican



**Warren D. Saunders**  
American Party



**Paul Puckett**  
Democrat



**Timothy McGay**  
Independent





Times Photos by Wayne Deel

Rep. Butler (left) and Gov. Godwin at GOP Dinner; Saunders, Puckett and McGay at Roanoke Jaycee Forum

## State Republicans Aim Barbs at Opposition

By JOE GILLILAND  
Times Staff Writer

A governor, a former governor and a Roanoke lawyer recently in the national political spotlight joined more than 300 other Republicans Tuesday night at a \$100 reception and

appreciation dinner for Rep. Caldwell Butler in Salem.

And mixed in with the praise for Butler were some sharp barbs aimed at the Democrats and the news media.

Gov. Mills Godwin said Butler's performance during the

House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings this summer exemplifies his character and integrity. He said Butler's "eloquent" statement before the nation (on the impeachment) was not an easy thing to do but to him it was the right thing to do and that is the distinction between a statesman and a politician. Butler voted for two of the articles to impeach Richard Nixon.

Godwin said Butler's kind of courage is needed in these times of rampant inflation and dwindling revenues. "The solvency of this country is important to the survival of this country," Godwin said.

In an emotional speech, Godwin said the vote of the 6th District must be kept in the hands of ability and proven leadership. Without mention-

ing by name Butler's opponents, Godwin said that vote should not be put in the hands of those who would promise anything to get elected.

He said the results of the race would be "noted by millions across this land."

Former Gov. Linwood Holton said there now is a suicidal trend to "castigate and destroy our leaders. I'm not excusing the kind of conduct that has been condemned in Washington in the past years, weeks or even days." But he said if "the way in which the major media has used a relatively minor incident to destroy national leadership" is quality journalism... "then it's got to be explained better to me. He was referring to the incident involving Rep. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas.

Holton is now assistant sec-

retary of state for congressional affairs.

He said he didn't condone "dragging" in the Tidal Basin at 2 a.m. with the lights out, but he said it was a "little incident."

Mills was in a car earlier this month when police stopped it for speeding and a woman—identified as a former dancer—jumped into the Tidal Basin.

Holton said Butler was a man of courage, integrity and judgment who deserved to be returned to Washington for a second term.

Samuel Garrison, a former aide to Spiro Agnew and later minority counsel for the judiciary committee during the impeachment hearings, was master of ceremonies.

He said for those with short memories who think things

are bad now should remember "how things were six years ago before Richard Nixon became president." No one wants to not want to return to the pre-1968 era, Garrison said.

The audience overflowed the community room at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center. Tables were set up in the lobby. A long list of elected officials and party leaders from all over the district were introduced.

Butler said the turnout was the largest he could recall in his association with the Republican party in the district. He quipped that he could remember times before the emergence of the party when the crowd was so small "one elected official was intro-

See Page 18, Col. 3

## Butler Jabbed for Missing Forum

By JOEL TURNER  
Times Staff Writer

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler was sharply criticized Tuesday night for skipping a forum with his challengers in the November election to appear with Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. at a \$100-a-couple reception and Republican fund raising dinner.

Godwin himself also came under fire from a Butler challenger who said the governor ought to stay in Richmond and tend to the job he was elected to do, instead of campaigning for GOP congressional candidates.

"The democratic process works here (at a forum by the Roanoke Jaycees for all 6th District candidates), not at a \$100-a-couple reception," said Timothy McGay, an independent challenger to Butler's seat.

"While we meet here to inform the citizens in the district of our stands, Mr. Butler is across the city with the governor of Virginia," said Warren D. Saunders, the American party candidate.

Saunders said Butler seems unable to find time to appear jointly with his opponents.

"I would like to suggest that Gov. Godwin ought to stay in Richmond and do the job he was elected to do, like trying to keep down utility rates, rather than trying to get some of his people elected to Congress," said Saunders.

And Paul J. Puckett, the Democratic party challenger in the race, said that Butler passed up another opportunity Tuesday night for a real discussion of the issues.

Butler's performance and record as a congressman came under just as much criti-

cism, if not more, than his campaign for a second term.

Butler's voting record is "exactly the opposite of his stand as a candidate" two years ago, said Saunders.

The American party candidate said Butler has voted to increase the national debt ceiling even though he promised two years ago to oppose increasing it.

Holding up a 1972 Butler campaign brochure featuring a picture of Butler with former president Richard Nixon, McGay said that Butler "doesn't have one of these (brochures) out this year because he's not taking any stands on the issues."

McGay said that Butler has frequently joined with Democrats in Congress and voted

See Page 18, Col. 5





Photo by Wayne

Area Republicans sample the buffet at last night's dinner

## Godwin backs rate hikes on power, lauds Butler

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. said last night he believes the electric power companies serving Virginia should be granted some rate increases.

He declined to go into specifics, saying there is "no magic figure" that might solve the utilities' apparent financial difficulties.

"But," he said, "I think that some increases are justified."

Godwin made his comments to reporters before speaking at a dinner on behalf of Rep. Caldwell Butler, the Republican seeking reelection in the 6th District.

Butler was leader of the Republican minority in the House of Delegates during much of the time that Godwin first served as governor. Godwin was a Democrat then.

But Godwin said that even though they were on opposite sides then—and Butler, in his position, was a frequent critic of the Godwin administration—he considered Butler as one of the most responsible members of the General Assembly.

In answer to a question on Virginia politics, Godwin said he thought all the Virginia con-

gressmen would be elected Nov. 5.

More than 300 from throughout the 6th District attended the dinner for Butler at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center. A surprise guest was former Gov. Linwood Holton, who is now an aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

A sizable crowd also attended a \$100-per-couple reception that preceded the \$7.50-a-plate dinner.

Godwin warmly praised Butler's work with the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment hearings, saying he showed he has character and integrity, adding:

"His eloquent stand before the nation was not an easy thing to do but to him it was the right thing to do and that is the distinction between a statesman and a politician."

In his remarks, Butler praised Godwin for "setting us on a course of progress" when he was governor from 1966 to 1970.

Sam Garrison, who became counsel for Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment inquiry, said those who think things are rough

now should recall how they were before Richard Nixon became president. He added that no one wants to return to that era.

Holton deplored what he said is the tendency of the press to try to destroy today's leaders.

He was referring to coverage of a recent incident in which Rep. Wilbur Mills was riding in a car which was stopped in the early hours at the Tidal Basin. A former dancer jumped from the car and into the water. Holton seemed to feel the incident was played up far out of proportion to its importance, calling it "a little incident."

## Principles intact, Butler declares

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said today that he remains "true to the principles which were the basis" of his campaign in 1972.

Butler, a Republican seeking re-election as the 6th District Congressman, reviewed his first term in office and told members of the Salem Rotary Club that the Democratic majority in Congress must take the blame for present economic failures.

"Whether I like it nor not, I find myself labeled a fiscal conservative," Butler told the Rotarians at a luncheon at the Salem-Roanoke Valley Civic Center.

"But that gives me some li-

cense to criticize the Congress for its failure to measure up responsibly in this area."

He said that Democrats have controlled Congress "for the last 20 years and that the president of the United States can't spend a dime that Congress does not appropriate."

Butler said he has supported "every reasonable effort to find solutions to the energy problem" and said that energy related-legislation should have the "highest priority" in the remainder of this session and in the 94th Congress.

He outlined his efforts to fight inflation, including his support for tax reform, campaign reform, and assistance for senior citizens.



STORY FROM THE...  
B-T. Oct. 29, 1974

# Candidates in 6th Face Inflation Quiz

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

WAYNESBORO — Inflation was the main concern here Friday night in the questioning of 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler and his three opponents at a Jaycee-League of Women Voters forum.

The theme of belt-tightening ran through their answers.

Some of the questions appeared critical of the Republican administration and there was a noticeable enthusiasm by some in the audience for Paul J. Puckett, the Democratic candidate, and Warren D. Saunders, the American party candidate.

The forum drew about 200, some of them students taking notes. At one point Puckett,

who is sheriff in Roanoke, and Timothy McGay, a young Augusta farmer running as an independent, suggested government curbs on credit buying.

McGay said that there should be a margin on credit purchases which could be increased gradually, and Puckett said a buyer ought to be required to make certain down payments.

Butler, in answer to a question, said the United States must strive for independence in oil production and other imports and agreed that exports should be limited.

The congressman acknowledged, "It is difficult to draw the line on what limits to place on scarcities such as food and fertilizer, since the United States must export in order to pay for oil and other costly imports."

Puckett lashed out at the administration for shipping grain to Russia at such low prices and was applauded loudly when he remarked:

"When they (Russia) said they were going to bury us

they meant to do it with our own grain."

Saunders kept up his criticism of America's foreign aid and said this is a major place to stop deficit spending.

An economics professor asked Saunders how he, with his ideas on the economy, can halt inflation without creating wholesale unemployment.

"I'm not an economist but I've got common sense," Saunders replied.

Saunders said Congress should set an example by cutting its salary and that of President Ford and his cabinet by 10 per cent.

"They call it a mess to start with so let's put it back on their shoulders," Saunders suggested.

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## Letters to the editor

# Israel is the key to oil crisis

SOME HOW or other, many people seem to have lost sight of the fact that the oil price rises foisted on the world by the Arabs came about as a result of last October's war with the Arabs and the Israelis.

The Arabs have been using their potent oil weapon to get the large industrial nations to bring pressure upon the Israelis to give them back the lands won from them in the 1967 war. The Israelis, of course, are loath to give back the lands in question because they regard the lands as a defensive buffer in case of another war.

It seems quite evident that the Arabs are immune to any economic pressure because they don't need any more money, which is already coming out of their ears. Consequently, there seems to be only one way to induce the Arabs to lower the price of oil—and that is to persuade the Israelis that they must give back at least some of the lands in question. If they don't the whole world is very likely to drift into economic chaos.

STORER P. WARE JR.

Roanoke

W-N. Oct. 24, 1974

## Two-party system

IT HAS BEEN a long time coming, but there are indications that the two-party system is in trouble; that folks are becoming aware of the fraudulence that has built up from this antiquated and corrupt method of controlling their government. Witness the cringing, fretful appeals, vocal and by letter, being trumpeted by hard-nose Republicans and Democrats trying to shore up the relic of a gravy train that they have been riding high, wide and handsome for over a century!

The cost of maintaining this ancient, exclusive, political country club—first for a few terms under Republican control, then for about the same length of time under the Democrats—has just about bankrupted the nation—not only financially but morally, spiritually and educationally as well.

It is high time the voters turn those old renegades out to pasture, destroy the country club atmosphere in government, and let some breaths of clean, fresh air into our legislative halls.

PHIL CLORE

Roanoke

## Charitable deductions

THIS IS in reference to the Quickline article in The World-News of Oct. 2 in which Mrs. F.F. was advised to inform me of her opposition to a repeal of charitable tax deductions.

This bill, H.R. 636, was introduced by Congressman Heinz on Jan. 3, 1973. This legislation would repeal all major deductions, including charitable deductions.

The purpose behind this bill, which was first introduced in

the 92nd Congress by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was to force a review of the federal tax code.

Since the introduction of this legislation, Congressman Heinz and Chairman Mills have withdrawn support for it and reconfirmed their belief that charitable tax deductions should be retained. Although the bill is presently pending before the committee on ways and means, it is not being considered.

The Ways and Means Committee\* is currently making a full review of the tax system. I am advised that the tax reform bill which they will present to the House later in the year will not include revisions in the law regarding tax deductions of charitable contributions.

The charitable tax deduction is a very substantial component of our tax system and I would personally resist any effort to change essentially this deduction.

M. CALDWELL BUTLER

## BERRY'S WORLD



© 1974 by NEA, Inc.

"I thought you were trying to cut back on spending. How come you have treats?"



# Group Rates Wampler As 'Least Conservative'

By WAYNE WOODLIEF  
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Tidewater U.S. Rep. G. William Whitehurst tied for top as Virginia's most conservative congressman during 1974 while 9th District Rep. William C. Wampler was rated the state's least conservative member by a national conservative organization.

This year, through mid-September, Whitehurst rated at 93 per cent on the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) scale, and tied Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of Winchester as the most conservative House member of the country's most conservative congressional delegation.

(Virginia's two senators, independent Harry F. Byrd Jr., and Republican William L. Scott helped earn that distinction, becoming 100 percenters by supporting all 19 key Senate issues rated by the ACA for 1974. Only Nebraska's Republican Sens. Carl Curtis and Roman Hruska matched that.)

Whitehurst and Wampler showed dramatic changes on the ACA scale between their 1974 ratings and the cumulative ratings for their congressional careers.

Whitehurst, who began his first term in 1969, had a cumulative rating of 76 per cent by ACA (the conservative counterpart to ADA—Americans for Democratic Action) for his first five years, with a low of 50 per cent in 1970.

His 93 score this year raised his cumulative rank to 78.

Wampler, elected to Congress in 1966, had a cumulative rating of 81 per cent, consistently scoring in the 70's and 80's.

But this year, one in which he is facing a severe electoral challenge from Democrat Charles Horne, Wampler's rating dropped to 67 per cent.

This is still two-thirds "conservative," of course, though it ranks under the 86 per cent rating for 1974 Tidewater Rep. Thomas N. Downing, a Democrat.

Downing's cumulative total, most "liberal" among Virginia congressmen, is 68 per cent conservative. Robinson has the highest cumulative rating, 93.

Republican M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke managed to vote for the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon and still rack up an 87 per cent ACA rating in 1974. His cumulative rating for two years in Congress is 81.

Sen. Byrd's cumulative rating is 86 per cent. Sen. Scott's is 98 per cent, second highest in the nation to the 100 per cent for Sen. Jesse Helms, a North Carolina Republican, during his two years in the Senate.

Other Virginia congressmen and their ratings—for 1974 first and then the cumulative ratings—include:

Robert W. Daniel Jr., 92 and 87; W.C. Daniel, 80 and 89;

David Satterfield, 87 and 90; Stanford Parris, 87 and 88; and Joel Broyhill, 86 and 85.

Voting "no" was a positive action for the ACA on most of the 19 Senate and 15 house votes the organization rated as key issues. A "no" vote was "right" on 10 of the Senate votes and also on 10 of the House votes.

The right votes, on ACA's scale, included votes against the minimum wage increase and consumer protection agency. "For a private competitive market and against government interference"; against a legal services cor-

poration to defend the poor; and against federal grants for land use planning.

The "yes" notes considered proper by ACA included a bill to give the House Internal Security Committee \$475,000 for 1975; an amendment by Virginia's Sen. Byrd to require a balanced federal budget (it was beaten) and an amendment by Sen. Helms of North Carolina to lessen federal no-fault insurance standards imposed on the states (it also was defeated).

## Legal notices

TAKE NOTICE, that on Nov. 1st, at 10:00 a.m. at the premises of Woody Chev., Lexington, Va., the undersigned

# Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Saturday, October 26, 1974

## Re-elect Mr. Butler

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, of Roanoke, Republican of the Sixth District of Virginia, has earned in his first term a re-election to Congress. High among any list of reasons would be his calm and fair performance as a member of the House Judiciary Committee investigating grounds for impeaching former President Nixon.

Mr. Butler did not become a publicity hound. He leaked no evidence and was circumspect in his comments. He was neither in the first row of the eager executioners nor in the back row of the last-ditch defenders. He studied the law (which was new to most people) and he studied the evidence. When the time came, he voted for two counts of impeachment.

Right now, with hindsight, his votes seem to have been inevitable, even easy to arrive at. But at the time of the voting, his decision was politically risky. Risky might be too mild a word to describe the climate

that existed when Mr. Butler had to make up his mind. He showed courage and good judgment. One decision like that is worth a dozen or so smaller decisions.

Another reason for re-electing Mr. Butler is that he reflects the general complexion of his district—conservative but not standpat. So much of Mr. Butler's first term had to be spent on impeachment hearings that he was not heard from on other issues as much, for instance, as he was heard while a member of the Virginia General Assembly. But he did his homework, voted and did not neglect his duties. Given another term mercifully free of impeachment, Mr. Butler can show his merit in other areas.

Some good things can be said about his opponents. But all the good things added together do not overcome Mr. Butler's surprisingly historic first-term record. Mr. Butler should win and he should win big.



# House Candidates Split on Impeachment

R.T. - Oct 28, '74

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's opponents differed sharply Sunday on whether he did the right thing in voting for the impeachment of former President Nixon during the House Judiciary Committee hearings.

The congressman's challengers in the 6th district were asked for a yes or no answer in the final minutes of an hour-long forum on WDBJ-TV and Democrat Paul J. Puckett answered yes; independent Timothy McGay answered no.

Warren D. Saunders refused to give his opinion on the air, replying that it was a "play on words" to say what he might or might not have done had he been a member of the committee and had to vote.

"We have said from the very beginning that it was one bunch of crooks questioning another bunch of crooks," Saunders, the American party candidate, told reporters after the program went off the air.

McGay, a young Augusta County farmer who recently graduated from college, revealed a deep feeling for the former president in dictating a statement following the program to elaborate on his answer on TV.

"Mr. Nixon was a man of quality and we will be hard pressed to find a man of his courage and experience," McGay declared, adding:

"Many people feel we stepped out of the pan into the fire."

During the program on which his opponents differed

on whether Congress should confirm vice presidential nominee Nelson Rockefeller, Butler said he is reserving judgment until hearings are completed.

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee which will conduct the hearings, blamed the Democratic leadership for delaying the proceedings.

A decision should have been made before now, Butler maintained.

Puckett and Saunders said again they are opposed to the confirmation of Rockefeller; McGay said he is qualified and in his view this makes Congress obligated to confirm him.

"I don't think we need any more Watergates..." Puckett replied, citing Rockefeller's gifts to public figures and, as Puckett put it, "writing books to destroy people's character."

"He stands for everything I'm opposed to," Saunders replied. Pointing to Rockefeller's spending as governor of New York and what he called Rockefeller's "international ties and wealth," the American party candidate held that President Ford was not elected by the people "and Congress has every right to take a very close look..."

Butler observed that it is very important for the President to have a vice president with whom he is compatible and, therefore, should Rockefeller be confirmed unless Congress finds that he is not qualified or uncovers something "that reflects on his integrity." Pointing to the FBI checks of all complaints, even rumors, Butler remarked that "we turn these people inside out..."

"These gentlemen can pre-judge it," Butler said since they are not members of Congress. He said as a member of the Judiciary Committee he feels bound not to commit himself until the hearings are complete.

Butler was reminded that he said when President Ford nominated Rockefeller if Rockefeller were not confirmed by the time Congress recessed before the Nov. 5 elections he would suspect Democrats of holding up confirmation for political purposes so Rockefeller could not campaign for Republican candidates in the role of vice president.

The congressman, in answer to a question, repeated the accusation Sunday, calling the delay "classical and typical" of the Democratic leadership.

Butler and all three of his opponents said they are opposed to any change in 14-B of the Taft-Hartley law which permits Virginia to have its "right-to-work" law banning union shop labor contracts.

"I didn't agree to anything," Puckett, who has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, replied when asked if he agreed to any changes in the "right-to-work" law—possibly to a change which would permit agency shop contracts.

"We need politicians who will have the guts to tell George Meany (national AFL-CIO president) at times to go where it doesn't snow," McGay replied.

Saunders said he is a strong believer in the "right-to-work" law and the concepts behind it and Butler injected:

"I want to suggest to you that if we have a veto proof congress that (14-B) will be the first casualty."



# Butler Seen Leading in 6th Race

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler is finding there is a price to pay back home for electrifying Washington with his votes as a freshman on the House Judiciary Committee to impeach Richard Nixon.

These votes made Butler a national political figure overnight. But in the Roanoke-Lynchburg-Staunton area 6th District, which has been with the GOP for 22 years, a bloc of hard-core Republicans will never forgive him.

And the Watergate scandal itself has sapped some of the zest from the GOP get-out-the-vote organization built over the years since Richard H. Poff, now a Virginia Supreme Court justice, won his first term in Congress in 1952 with the appeal: "Send Dick to help Ike."

Still, the consensus among politicians is that Butler will win re-election because, for one reason, Democrats accustomed to losing show no real signs of believing they can win this time with likable Paul J.

Puckett, city sheriff in Roanoke — Butler's home town.

Some Democrats profess to see the possibility of an upset. They feel that Bedford County businessman Warren D. Saunders, running with the backing of the American party, could get enough of the vote that would normally go to Butler in a two-way race for Puckett to win with what they call the "traditional" Democratic vote.

Nixon, whose name was political magic in the district until Watergate began to unfold in Washington, polled 104,443 votes in the 6th two years ago — a staggering 72.7 per cent.

Butler, picked by the GOP to succeed Justice Poff, makes no bones about the fact he was helped by Nixon's popularity. He got 75,189 votes — 54 per cent of the total — against two opponents. Willis M. Anderson, a former Roanoke mayor who had served with Butler in the Virginia House of Delegates, got 53,928 voters, and Prof. Roy White, who supported Democratic presidential

nominee George McGovern as an independent candidate, polled 8,531.

Politicians and campaign workers report a general lack of enthusiasm this year. Many voters, they say, are "turned off" by politics.

Because of this, the turnout Nov. 5 could fall below 100,000 — less than the 104,658 votes cast last year when Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., as head of the GOP ticket, carried the district with 53.8 per cent of the vote.

Saunders is appealing to the "turned off" and disillusioned with a heavy television, radio and billboard campaign asking a simple question: "Had enough of the Democrats and Republicans?"

There is a fourth candidate — Timothy McGay, a youthful-looking college graduate who has a farm in Augusta County. He is determined to get by on \$1,000, all of it his own money, and is not trying to set up any local organizations. His vote is not expected to influence the outcome.

Money is harder to raise for

Puckett than it is for Butler, but even the GOP is finding it tough this year. Butler's vote for impeachment closed some doors. Business slumps have caused some wealthy contributors to trim the size of their contributions this time.

President Ford, then vice president, came to Roanoke in July for a \$100-a-couple fund raising reception for Butler. The GOP sold 110 tickets. A lot of old faces were missing. Some refused; others could not be reached. Still, after paying for Ford's trip and the cost of the reception, Butler's campaign committee was \$3,000 to the good.

Puckett had to reach into his pocket for \$5,000 to get his campaign started after he won the Democratic convention nomination on the third ballot. Most of it went into "Puckett for Congress" billboards.

Saunders, who has a fertilizer distribution business in Bedford County and on TV refers to himself as "a businessman — not a politician," put up \$2,000 of his own money to get his campaign going.

Because of the mood in the  
See Page 15, Col. 1

## Butler Seen Leading in 6th Race

From Page 13

district now and the scope of Saunders' TV and radio campaign blaming both Democrats and Republicans for the "mess" in Washington, there is much speculation among politicians over the size of the vote.

But there is no apprehension within the Butler campaign organization that it will cost him the election. District GOP Chairman William B. Poff predicts 55 per cent of the vote for Butler; that Saunders will get 20 per cent in what he calls a "media campaign" that produces a lot of talk but few votes.

Democrats wonder if the Saunders vote could be large enough to put Puckett in, but few pin any real hope on this possibility. One described the possibility as being as slim as hitting the jackpot on a Las Vegas slot machine — "Too many lemons have to fall in a row."

Republicans who are mad at Butler find no solace in Puckett, who even before the televised committee voting was

calling on Nixon to resign "for the good of the country."

Saunders refuses to be drawn into the impeachment issue, preferring to hammer away at both the Democrats and Republicans for their spending, primarily for welfare and foreign aid, which he says is to blame for inflation.

President Ford's anti-inflation program has come under fire from both Puckett and Saunders, and Butler cannot go all the way with the White House, either.

Butler is telling his audiences that Congress should reduce spending before putting any surtax on income taxes at any level, and if Congress should decide to levy a surtax the revenue ought to be used to reduce the national debt — not for make-work programs.

National figures have been in the district for both Butler and Puckett, drawing a charge from Saunders that they are hiding behind surrogate candidates.

In addition to Ford, Butler has had Rep. John J. Rogers, R-Ariz., who succeeded Ford

as GOP minority leader in the House, and Rep. Wilbur "Vinegar Bend" Mizell, R-N.C., a former baseball star.

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, D-Tex., who is thinking about going after the Democratic nomination for president in 1976, and Rep. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., the Senate whip, have been in the district for Puckett.

In fact, Bentsen's appearance at a dinner sponsored by the Roanoke Valley Women's Democratic Club, which drew more than 300 persons, has been the high water mark of Puckett's campaign up to now.

Bentsen was obtained by State Sen. William B. Hopkins of Roanoke, whose wife, Virginia, is president of the women's club. On top of that, Hopkins has made the largest contribution to Puckett's campaign, \$1,000.

The past that makes present-day Virginia politics unbelievable to outsiders washed up at a GOP fund-raiser for Butler in Roanoke.

Those who paid \$100 for a reception ticket or just bought

a \$7.50 dinner ticket heard Gov. Godwin, a former Democrat turned Republican, join former Gov. Linwood Holton, who lost his first bid for the governorship to Godwin in 1965, in praising Butler and criticizing Democrats.

The governor, who headed up the 1,000-member Virginia advisory committee for Virginia's Committee to Re-elect the President, told the GOP faithful that Butler's vote for impeachment "exemplifies his character and integrity."

"His eloquent statement was not an easy thing to do, but it was the right thing to do, and that is the difference between a statesman and a politician," Godwin added.

Across town, Butler's opponents were participating in a Jaycee forum and criticizing him for allegedly passing up other joint appearances but he took part later in the week in one at Waynesboro, and was on a televised forum with his challengers the next Sunday in Roanoke.

Butler said his first responsibility was to stay in Washington as long as Congress was in session.



The World-News

## Editorial View

Tuesday, October 29, 1974

### Caldwell Butler: above the mists

Watching the congressional campaigns in the Sixth District is a bit like watching four separate armies struggling in a vast, thick fog. There is a lot of movement, there are sounds of battle, but the issues and positions are obscured by the grey blanket.

Warren Saunders, the American party candidate, is making the most noise. He is running against the whole federal establishment: foreign aid, the "secret government in Philadelphia which supervises Virginia," federal aid to education, the Democrats and the Republicans. You name it, and Mr. Saunders has probably come out against it. But make no mistake, his campaign is clever, well-financed and hammer-gun repetitive. He is running on shadowy issues that have tremendous appeal, even though Mr. Saunders is long on criticism, but short on specific remedies. When he asks, "Had enough of the Democrats and Republicans?," he is really asking: Had enough of politicians and politics?

But there is little in either his career or his campaign to indicate that his simplistic brand of negativism will do much to help the current state of politics and politicians.

The independent candidate for the House, Timothy McGay, is as independent of organized politics as one can get: He has virtually no organization and he has spent only a few hundred dollars on his campaign. What seems to be propelling Mr. McGay is not the prospect of winning but the ability to speak out on the issues. He is the idealistic, anti-politician that Mr. Saunders claims to be; the difference is that Mr. Saunders is a "media meteor," who is using television and radio as effectively as any of the "professional politicians" of whom he is so disdainful.

The Democratic candidate, Paul Puckett, is struggling valiantly to pin the sins of Watergate on the Republican incumbent, M. Caldwell Butler, without much success. The public is not likely to remember the times that Rep. Butler voted with the administration, only that time he voted two articles of impeachment against the head of his party, complete with a ringing condemnation of corruption in high places.

In fact (a fact that, no doubt, frustrates Mr. Puckett and his campaign workers), many in the district are likely to remember little more about Rep. Butler's first term than his relatively brief but impressive period in the impeachment limelight. The impression he put forward at that time, we feel, can be applied generally to his job as a freshman member of the House: a good, solid performance, with flashes of real insight into the issues. Rep. Butler is no saint; he is a "professional politician" who does his homework and, more often than not, votes from conviction rather than convenience.

The fog that has settled over the campaign has been produced in part by the amorphous nature of the issues themselves: the economy (about which even the experts disagree), the nature of federal bureaucracy, the philosophy of controls in the marketplace, the need for reforms, the uses and abuses of deficit spending. All of these are important issues; but they are difficult to put into neat little boxes to be brought out at appropriate times. None of the candidates has been able to bring them into focus.

The only sharp outline that emerges is Rep. Butler's record. We think that is more than enough to warrant his re-election.

You  
know  
he's there

Butler

Paid for by Friends of Caldwell Butler, Wm. R. Holland, treas.

CONGRESSIONAL  
LOCAL 020



# Rep. Butler Says Watergate Bared Shocking Power Abuse

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who voted to impeach former President Nixon, said in a lecture Tuesday night at Hollins College that the investigation of Watergate uncovered abuses of White House powers that were "shocking and foreign to our system of government."

The Senate investigation and hearings before the House Judiciary Committee of which he is a member, Butler said, gave Congress and the American people "a glimpse of the unparalleled power available to the president" and "a full view of the way that power was used for political purposes."

Butler, a freshman Republican on the committee who voted for the first two articles of impeachment, said "the resignation of Nixon in disgrace represents a turning point in the balance of power between the president and Congress."

Congress was anxious to increase its own power, Butler said.

Congress already had become concerned by the concentration of power in the White House during the 20th century, Butler added. He called it awesome.

"The loss of presidential prestige which accompanied each new Watergate revelation merely hastened the process by which Congress stated its claim to expanded powers," Butler continued.

He voiced doubt that Congress' newly inherited prestige would have been achieved without the White House scandal.

"Watergate and subsequent events simply helped marshal public opinion against strong presidential power and eroded congressional support for the president," the congressman reasoned.

Butler questioned whether Congress "is prepared to handle the powers now thrust upon it."

"With Congress in disarray, we cannot afford to tie too firmly the hands of the president," Butler suggested, adding:

"The dilemma now facing Congress is how to insulate the executive branch against misuse without destroying the

president's control over the bureaucracy for which he is responsible."

"It appears that the great powers of presidential incumbency were systematically used during the Nixon administration to discredit those who were politically opposed to the administration," Butler declared.

Butler said he is looking forward to coming committee hearings on legislation safeguarding information in FBI files and other government computers.

"The Nixon administration demonstrated admirably the power that can accrue to a handful of persons in the executive department when they have access to potentially damaging information on individuals which is kept in the files of the federal government," Butler said.

He praised top officials of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for resisting White House efforts to "order wholesale (tax) audits against high priority members on its political enemy list."

And he said President Ford has voluntarily limited access to IRS files.

Butler held out passage of the War Powers Bill over Nixon's veto as "a major step in altering the balance of power by defining the limits of White House authority to commit American troops to combat..."

Congress might not have overridden the veto, Butler suggested, except the issue came within three weeks of the now famous "Saturday Night Massacre" in the Watergate inquiry.

"It was an accumulation of congressional frustration which grew as power

had accumulated within the presidency," Butler held.

Butler also pointed to the new election reform bill providing for public financing of presidential candidates and putting a limit on contributions as an example of internal reforms Congress is starting.

He said Congress is making changes in its seniority system to give a bigger voice to newcomers and through campaign reform legislation trying to limit the influence of outside pressure groups.

"But the problem still remains that there are 535 members of Congress, each with his own perception of national problems and how to solve them," Butler said, adding:

And up to now it has been "unable to make tough political decisions without regard to partisan motives."

THE ROANOKE TIMES

## City/State

Wednesday, October 30, 1974

17

United Way  
In Reach  
Of Goal

If 300 accounts not yet heard from give as much as they did last year, the United

## Witty Butler breezes along

By OZZIE OSBORNE  
Political Writer

When Rep. Caldwell Butler was in Vinton yesterday for a breakfast of ham and eggs, hot biscuits and fried apples, a constituent told him he went to his office for help during last winter's fuel crisis and "thank the Lord, I got it."

Butler said he was glad of that, "but I wish you'd thank your congressman, too."

Butler also reminded Vinton Mayor Gus Nicks that he has nothing to do with annexation, adding "but you know what I'd tell the court if they asked me what to do, don't you? ... now, let's let it drop at that."

It was typical of the breezy way in which Butler is doing his campaigning—campaigning somewhat curtailed by his being tied up in Washington.

While he wisecracks a bit, Butler gets down to the nitty-gritty, too. Expectedly, he describes the Democrats as the big spenders; he says Congress hasn't done enough about the energy crisis; and he criticizes the federal government for meddling too much in the small businessman's business.

In 1972, Butler ran as a strong supporter of then President Nixon. Not surprisingly, he didn't mention his name in yesterday's campaigning except when the former presi-

dent's illness was brought up. Of Ford, he said little, only wondering at one point if his anti-inflation measures were strong enough.

And Butler ignored—as he nearly always does—his congressional opponents, Democrat Paul Puckett, independent Timothy McGay and Warren Saunders, the American party candidate.

Butler can, it would seem, ignore his opponents and not feel compelled to give all-out support to the national administration.

For, in campaigning with him, one gets a notion of the vast advantage an incumbent has—particularly an incumbent that got the publicity he did as a member of the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment proceedings. He was recognized everywhere.

(Butler claims incumbency also has its disadvantages. For example, he notes, he must keep up with his congressional mail and other duties and, too, Congress being in session kept him from campaigning as much as his opponents).

"Oh, I knew who you were," said a lady on a Covington street even before he introduced himself.

A courthouse employee

he used to be a Democrat, but Butler changed that. "I'm going to vote for you," he said.

"I'm praying for you," said a Negro man as he passed Butler in front of Covington GOP headquarters.

Generally, Butler hears in his campaigning what the other candidates hear: complaints about high prices and, in Vinton at least, some worry that inflation may be caused by outright gouging and profiteering by such outfits as the big oil and sugar firms.

Butler asked a campaign worker in Covington what the feeling was over his stand favoring the impeachment of Nixon.

The answer was blunt: party people for the most part were highly upset at first. But, said the worker, he thinks Butler will retain most of the Republican vote since it has nowhere else to go.

While Butler did not mention his opponents in his campaigning yesterday, he did at one point say to Ray Haymaker, Covington-Alleghany County GOP chairman, that he had learned in politics it is a cardinal rule to pick your opponents with care.

"After seeing Puckett and Saunders, I think you may have had something to do with it," replied Haymaker.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler



WM  
Oct 31  
1974



# Impeachment Issue Fades in Va. Race

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

ROANOKE, Va.—When House Judiciary Committee member M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) came out for impeachment of then President Nixon last July, two staunch Butler supporters threatened to sit out his re-election campaign.

Now the two Nixon loyalists, one from each end of his western Virginia Sixth District, have reconciled themselves to Butler's stand and are out raising money for his re-election.

Leaders of both parties — Democrats privately, Republicans publicly — say Butler is heavily favored to win a second term in a district that gave Nixon and Agnew 72.7 per cent of the vote in 1972, the ticket's highest percentage in Virginia.

Not only has the anti-impeachment fervor subsided among all but the most loyal Nixon supporters, they say, but Butler has made inroads among Democrats and independents, leading some observers to believe Butler's impeachment vote was a plus in this once heavily pro-Nixon district.

Butler doesn't go quite



—The Washington Post

that far but says, "On balance, it certainly has not had any adverse effect."

Tom Nolan, campaign manager for Democratic candidate Paul J. Puckett, the sheriff of Roanoke, agrees. "The idea came across, Caldwell the Statesman," he said ruefully.

Much of the opposition to Butler's impeachment vote, coupled with his nationally televised proclamation of moral outrage over Water-

gate wrongdoings, dissipated when Mr. Nixon resigned.

Some people personally apologized for their earlier criticism after the resignation, Butler said. "Some thought it took a lot of courage (to vote for impeachment)," he said recently, "though I'm not sure it did in light of what he we had before us at the time. I'm not sure I had a lot of choice."

If Butler is in any trouble, observers say, it is for other reasons, principally the presence on the ballot of a conservative independent, American Party candidate Warren D. Saunders, who is spending heavily on media advertising for his anti-party, anti-politician message.

Sixth District Republican Chairman William B. Poff predicts that Butler will win easily even if, as Poff expects, Saunders gets 20 per cent of the vote, taking most of it from Butler rather than Puckett.

Puckett supporters are clinging to the hope that Saunders, a Bedford businessman whose backing includes key George Wallace supporters in the area,

might pull enough votes away from Butler to push their man over the top.

But leading Democrats concede the prospects are slim.

A fourth candidate in the race, Timothy McGay, a young Augusta County farmer, is not expected to gather enough votes to influence the outcome.

One reason that Butler's impeachment performance has not been a factor in the race is that his opponents have been unwilling or unable to use it against him.

Puckett advocated impeachment before Butler did. Saunders ignores the issue, preferring instead to hammer away at the question that dominates his advertising: "Had enough of the Democrats and Republicans? — Fight political pollution."

Butler, 49, who waged an extensive person-to-person campaign two years ago to defeat former State Del. Willis M. Anderson, who was regarded as a stronger challenger than Puckett, has appeared in every area of the district but done little hard campaigning.

His campaign contribu-

tions are down, but he takes partial responsibility for that. He has asked for gifts no larger than \$500 and has refused contributions from special-interest funds, which he figures has cost him about \$20,000 based on what he received from them in 1972.

Nonetheless, his campaign lieutenants estimate he will spend about \$55,000. Saunders expects to spend about \$50,000, half of it from himself. Puckett has raised only \$20,000, according to Nolan.

Unlike some of his Republican congressional colleagues from Virginia, Butler did not criticize President Ford's early pardon of Mr. Nixon, saying it was presidential prerogative and an act of sincerity.

But he renewed his sharp criticism of Watergate as recently as last Tuesday when he told a Hollins College crowd that events leading to the Nixon resignation were "shocking and foreign to our American system of government."

Butler has kept his distance from President Ford, expressing misgivings about his strength as a leader and declining to use television spots made when the then-Vice President visited Roanoke on Butler's behalf in July.

"I think he's bright enough to do the job but it's going to take the country a while to adjust to him and his style," said Butler.



# THE DAILY REVIEW

AR—NO. 110

CLIFTON FORGE, VA., WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1974

PRICE 10 CENT



**VIEW LIBRARY SITE**—Members of the Clifton Forge Library Board recently toured the construction site with Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, who has been instrumental in getting the library work started. The Congressman aided the board in getting a wage scale from the government, as well as helping members of the board with obtaining funds from the Appalachia

Regional Commission. This week, Butler reported to board members that the ARC application for the funds had cleared Washington and was returned to Richmond for final work. Shown with Butler are, left to right, Charles Whitmer, chairman, building committee; Mrs. Beth Scott; and Mrs. Edith Chucker, chairman, library board. (Review Staff Photo)

## GOP's Control of Va. House Delegation Is Threatened

RT. Sun. Nov 3 '74

By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Virginia's seven Republicans in the House who won easily two years ago behind former President Nixon's landslide face Democratic challenges, some of them tough, in Tuesday's congressional elections.

But despite the trauma of Watergate, prices at the supermarkets and the threat of a recession five are favored to win and two have, at best, a 50-50 chance of survival. Two GOP losses would end

the party's brief domination of the state's 10-seat House delegation.

State Democratic Chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick predicted Saturday that Democrats will win in the 8th and 9th districts and sized up the outcome in the 2nd and 10th "too close to call."

Politicians feel Rep. William C. Wampler, a five-term veteran from the Southwest's mountainous 9th who won two years ago with a staggering 71 per cent of the vote, and freshman Rep. Stanford E. Parrish who squeezed out a hair

line plurality in the Washington area 8th, are in the most trouble.

Democrats in the House from the 1st, 3rd and 5th districts have no Republican opposition and except for having to stay in Washington until Congress recessed have enjoyed a leisurely fall.

With no races in these three districts and reports of widespread apathy among voters despite the anxieties of these times the turnout Tuesday is expected to be far less than the 1,457,019 who voted in the '72 presidential and congressional elections. There are 2,050,809 registered voters in the state.

Polls will be open from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. with voting machines now in use except in very small precincts.

Although there are no congressional contests in three districts which cover a vast area of the state Virginians everywhere will be voting on an amendment to the state Constitution which will enable Virginia students going to private colleges in the state to receive state grants towards their tuition in a plan aimed at helping private colleges. Some are in financial trouble.

In addition there are referendums in 57 cities and counties across the state,

including all of those in the Roanoke Valley, on whether to permit unrestricted Sunday business or keep a new version of Virginia's controversial "Blue Law" which attempts to define what can and what cannot be sold legally on Sundays. Because of the wording of the question voters wishing to get rid of the "Blue Law" restrictions should vote "no."

But it is the congressional elections in the seven GOP-held House districts that dominate the political interest in Virginia this weekend.

Politicians in Washington are watching two of these House races, those in the

6th and 9th, with more than interest in the statistical makeup of the House in the first national election in the wake of the Watergate scandal and Nixon's resignation.

Here in the 6th Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, who credits his success in winning two years ago to Nixon's popularity, faces re-election after becoming one of the first Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee to vote for his impeachment.

Politicians, generally, expect him to

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# GOP's Control of Va. House Delegation Is Threatened

From Page A-1

win. By how much is the question.

Roanoke's Sheriff Paul J. Puckett, who won the Democratic nomination on the third ballot in a convention that had five choices, has been unable to raise enough money and whip up a will to win among Democrats accustomed to losing. Puckett mounts a real threat to Butler's re-election. The GOP has had the seat since '52.

Fitzpatrick, the state Democratic chairman, figures Puckett would be stronger if he had had enough money to achieve voter identity in a district dominated by the GOP for 22 years and where the televised impeachment proceedings made Butler's name a household word.

"He (Puckett) is running against the toughest Republican in the state," Fitzpatrick added.

The big question mark in the 6th the weekend before the election is the size of the vote Bedford County businessman Warren D. Saunders, the American party candidate, will poll. He has waged an aggressive TV-radio-billboard campaign asking: "Had Enough Of The Democrats and Republicans?" Some of Butler's workers think Saunders will run second. Saunders last week predicted a "resounding victory" for himself—a victory that would attract national attention since the bedrock of the American party in Virginia is the following Gov. George Wallace built for himself in the 1960s.

Youthful looking Timothy McGay, who last week revealed his pent up admiration for Nixon and said Butler should not have voted for his impeachment, is not regarded as a significant factor in the outcome Tuesday. Still his 11th hour revelations about his feeling for Nixon could bring him more votes than he otherwise would have received because Butler is getting some backlash. McGay is spending less than \$1,000, all of it his own money, and has not tried

to set up any local get-out-the-vote organizations.

Washington also is watching the 9th where eight years ago Wampler, affectionately called "The Bald Eagle of the Cumberland" by old time Republicans, staged a political comeback at the low water mark of the Johnson administration by ousting W. Pat Jennings, now Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Democrats in the 9th who had to put up with token candidates from '68 to now are running a high head of steam this weekend over what they feel are their chances of winning with wealthy Charles J. Horne, son of a Buchanan County coal miner who got rich in the Philippines and came back home.

Horne, who bought a mansion in Abingdon and went into business there, has waged the hardest hitting, most sophisticated and costliest (about \$175,000) campaign the Southwest accustomed to rough and tumble politics has seen.

Horne hammered at Wampler's voting record, claiming the congressman is a "rubber stamp" for GOP economic policies which reflect the views of special interest groups and the wealthy. Wampler has given his version of his voting record which, he claims, has refuted every statement Horne has made. But the Horne campaign got to him last week. He came to Roanoke to get the maximum newspaper and TV exposure to accuse Horne of "vicious attacks based on deceit and dishonesty."

Wampler, now 48, was a Bristol newspaper reporter in 1952 when he became one of the first three GOP members of the House from this once solid Democratic state behind the Eisenhower landslide that year. He was only 26 then, so young looking the doorkeeper at first refused to let him on the floor of the House opening day.

Wampler lost the seat to Jennings in the next election and then made his comeback in '66 by beating Jennings.

The longtime Jennings-Wampler political rivalry is interwoven into this campaign with Jennings out to beat the man who beat him eight years ago. Jennings has contributed a total of \$1,200 to Horne's campaign and since Congress recessed he has been at dinner after dinner campaigning as hard for Horne as Horne has for himself.

With anti-McGovern feeling running high Nixon carried the

9th in '72 by 51,000 votes. Wampler, with only token opposition, did even better, piling up a 62,000 majority.

(But last year former Lt. Gov. Henry E. Howell in his ill-fated campaign for governor (Horne contributed \$15,000, at least) carried the 9th by 11,800 votes with 30,000 votes less than were cast in the presidential and congressional election the year before.

There are 236,312 names on registration books in the district for this year's election—the largest number in any of the state's 10 congressional districts.

Democratic strategists see their second big opportunity of winning a GOP-held House seat in Virginia in the Washington-area 8th where Herbert E. Harris II, a 48-year-old lawyer-lobbyist, is given a 50-50 chance of beating Rep. Stanford E. Parris who won his first term in '72 with a hair splitting plurality behind Nixon's drawing power then.

The political complexity of the district, including half of Fairfax County which has a tenth of the state's entire population, makes the Parris-Harris race a tossup in a district that lies within the shadows of Watergate.

Parris, a wealthy lawyer-automobile dealer and member of the Virginia House of Delegates when he was elected to Congress was a jet fighter pilot in Korea. He is ranked one of the most conservative members of the Virginia delegation in the House.

Harris, a member of the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, like six other Democrats challenging the Republican incumbents in Virginia, has the backing of the Virginia AFL-CIO.

Downstate in the 4th district, which was drastically rearranged by the '70 reapportionment, wealthy Rep. Robert W. Daniel Jr. 36, owner of historic Brandon Plantation on the James River, is favored to keep his seat for the GOP, thanks to a three-way race. Both Daniel and Parris in the 8th won their seats in '72 and thereby gave the GOP seven of the state's 10.

Democratic party officials think Portsmouth lawyer Lester Schlitz, now a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, would have an even chance, maybe better, of beating Daniel if it were not for the Rev. Curtis Harris, a civil rights leader, running as an independent and bleeding off a bloc of the black vote which would go to Schlitz in a one-on-one contest.

Outspoken Rep. Joel T. Broyhill, who won his first term in the Washington-area 10th in the Eisenhower landslide in '52 to become a landmark among Republicans in Virginia, is in his usually noisy campaign.

His challenger this time is 60-year-old Joseph L. Fisher, an economist, who aroused the congressman's wrath by challenging him to make his tax returns public and accusing him of protecting tax loopholes for

the wealthy like himself as a member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

One headline maker this year was an article in "Washington Magazine" based on what its editor said was a three-month-long investigation accusing Broyhill of using his influence in Washington to enrich himself and his friends. Broyhill refused the editor's challenge to refute the charges at a press conference because, the congressman said, the article was "a repeated smear by an unknown writer in a second rate magazine."

Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, a Winchester area orchardist with strong agricultural ties across the state, was regarded at the outset as sure of re-election in the 7th; rated the safest of the seven GOP House members in fact.

But a Democratic campaign

mounted by 31-year-old Charlottesville lawyer George H. Gilliam, a member of city council there, has caught Republicans in the district by surprise and there is some obvious anxiety in GOP ranks this weekend over the possibility Gilliam might pull an upset.

The 7th was drastically changed by the 1970 reapportionment.

After the realignment Robinson, one of the most conservative of the GOP House members, won relatively easily.

But now Gilliam with an aggressive campaign that was good enough to get out 500 at an 8:30 a.m. breakfast in Winchester, the congressman's hometown, has Democrats who have been voting Republican

calling him "an acceptable Democrat."

And in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach 2nd district Rep. G. William Whitehurst, 49-year-old former community college dean, is favored to win his fourth term in the face of Democratic opposition from another educator—Robert R. Richard, executive director of the teachers' Norfolk Education Association.

Rep. Thomas N. Downing of the Newport News-Northern Neck 1st district; Rep. David E. Satterfield III of the Richmond area 3rd; and Rep. W. C. "Dan" Daniel of the 5th which extends from the Blue Ridge Mountains of Floyd County across the Southside to Richmond, have enjoyed a quiet summer and fall with no GOP opposition.



# Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Sunday, November 3, 1974

Both Sides Lose

## State Lottery: Bad Bet

If legal questions were the only stumbling block, there's little doubt Virginia could have itself a state-run lottery. Del. Ira Lechner, D-Alexandria—chairman of a House subcommittee studying the lottery matter—met the other day with Justice Department officials and said afterward he's sure Virginia could have a lottery without violating federal laws concerning things like disseminating lottery information.

Since several states already have done so, we're sure that Virginia, too, could weave its way through the legal loopholes. But we hope that's not the only obstacle to having a lottery in Virginia.

This newspaper's objection is not based on moral considerations. Gambling is not an activity we ad-

mire, but generally we don't believe it's something the state should interfere in, as long as other laws aren't being broken or public institutions being corrupted.

Our objection is more practical. A state-run lottery, it has been rather convincingly demonstrated, is a bad deal. Both for the gambler and for the state.

First of all, as a Consumers Union study showed several months ago, the bettor in a state-run lottery is paying not only for his ticket but also for a large amount of overhead—larger than in any other typical gambling operation. The state keeps 55 to 60 cents of every dollar bet. In comparison, the overhead for operating a Las Vegas gambling house is only 5.26 cents of every dollar bet on a roulette wheel, 5 to 25 cents for every dollar put into a slot machine. A bookie who takes wagers of \$50 or more on team sports keeps only 4.5 cents of every dollar for himself; horse race bookies keep 17 to 18 cents.

Doesn't that big chunk kept by the state mean that it's a good arrangement for the taxpaying public? No. Again, the overhead cuts into the public take. Consumers Union says that lottery expenses in most states range from 25.6 to 40 cents for every dollar that reaches the state treasury, compared with an average of 1.5 to 2 cents to collect a dollar of ordinary taxes.

Finally, says the report, the lottery is inequitable: It takes "primarily from those citizens most easily misled by advertising, promotion and false hope—often the same citizens least able to pay." If a moral issue is involved in a state's running a lottery, that's where it lies. The state should not take advantage of its citizens in this way.

Delegate Lechner and other Virginia legislators may come up with some better arguments for a state lottery. To us, it still looks like a bad bet.

### Vote YES

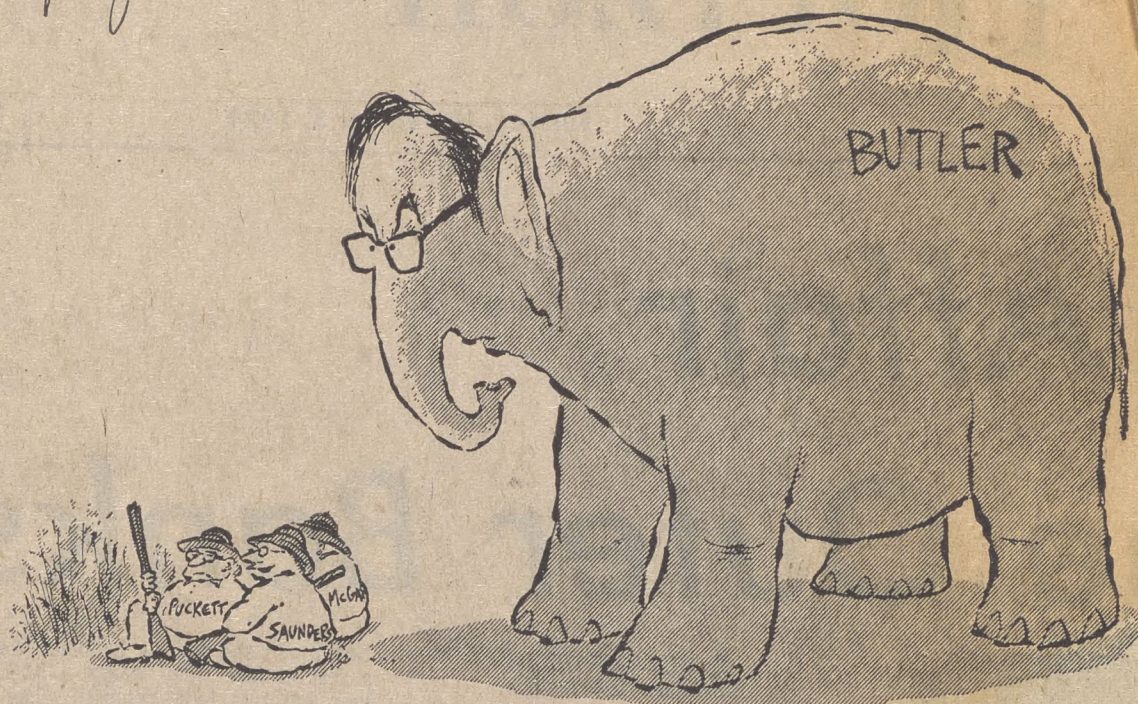
For that altogether happy and superior breed of people who agree with *The Roanoke Times*, the problem at the voting booth Tuesday is very simple. All they have to do is vote Yes.

If they vote Yes to the constitutional amendment they will help keep Virginia's private colleges alive; and thus insure against having to enlarge state colleges to replace them. The amendment would enable the General Assembly to set up a plan offering tuition grants or loans to students attending Virginia private colleges. Religious training would not be provided for.

If they vote Yes on the blue law statement, they will vote to continue today's very liberalized blue law. At the same time they will be voting against letting all the bars down and turning Sunday into just another dreary day of the week.

If they vote for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Republican, they will have to vote for him by name but they can be thinking Yes. He has earned re-election by his work in Washington.

*My*  
THE ROANOKE TIMES



'Aaahh, it'll be a cinch. I hear the elephant hunting is easy this year!'



Sunday, November 3, 1974

# Butler, Two Foes Expect Close Vote

By Gary Robertson  
Times-Dispatch State Staff

ROANOKE — Although the chairman of the 6th District Republican party has predicted incumbent M. Caldwell Butler will win 55 per cent of the vote Tuesday, Butler has told some party workers that the election might be much closer.

Feeling that voter apathy could hurt his chances for reelection to a second term in the House of Representatives, Butler has urged workers to get out the vote.

He has also voiced hope that local issues on the ballot might cause many persons to go to the polls who might otherwise stay at home, and he is hoping for a big turnout.

"A big turnout is always in favor of a Republican," he explained.

Butler's two major opponents, Democrat Paul G. Puckett of Roanoke and American party candidate Warren D. Saunders of Bedford County, have discounted predictions that Butler will win easily. In the best traditions of politicians, Puckett and Saunders contend that they will be the ones to savor victory on Tuesday.

SAUNDERS, THE president of a fertilizer supply firm, has stated that Puckett is out of the race and that it's now between him and Butler.

Saunders also has lashed out at the forecast butler will get 55 per cent characterizing it as "flagrant statistical puffery" issued to boost the incumbent's "sagging hopes."

"The Republicans have hit the panic button," he said.

In his first campaign for Congress in 1972, Butler received 54 per cent of the district's votes, while former President Richard M. Nixon, to whose candidacy Butler tied his own election bid, attracted an overwhelming 73 per cent.

But this is another year. Nixon has resigned the presidency and departed the White House under the cloud of Watergate, and Butler, as an outspoken moderate member of the House Judiciary Committee calling for impeachment, was instrumental in precipitating the resignation.

There have been indications that Nixon loyalists in the 6th District have deserted Butler, but a number of well-informed observers believe the desertions will not be so numerous as to deny him a second term.

BUTLER HAS BEEN running primarily on his record, and his campaign theme is, "You know he's there." A heavy congressional schedule and duty on the Judiciary Committee limited his campaigning until the past few weeks, but he has been traveling throughout the district ever since the recess, trying to make up for lost time.

A parade of nationally known Republican politicians has appeared in the district in behalf of Butler, and to help him raise money.

The list includes President Ford, who came in July when he was vice president; House minority leader John J. Rhodes of Ariz., and Rep. Wilbur "Vinegar Bend" Mizell of North Carolina.

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. and former Gov. Linwood Holton also have endorsed Butler and made a joint appearance for him at a \$110-per-ticket reception in Roanoke.

On inflation, the major issue in the 6th District as elsewhere, Butler has generally supported Ford's inflation-fighting package while maintaining that before a surtax is placed on any income level, the

Continued on Page 8, Col. 1

## Butler, Foes Expect Vote To Be Close

Continued From First Page

federal government should sharply reduce its own budget.

PUCKETT AND Saunders have also come out strongly against a surtax, recommending instead federal budget trimming and an end to deficit spending as two of the best cures for inflation. A major part of Saunders' campaign also has been directed at reducing foreign aid and welfare payments, both of which he said have put the county in debt.

In the early stages of his campaign, Puckett tried to unify Democrats behind his candidacy by appointing the two men he defeated for the Democratic nomination key positions on his campaign staff.

A campaign manager for the Roanoke city sheriff said, however, that the effort has not been as successful as Puckett had hoped.

To enhance Puckett's standing among Democrats, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex., who has been prominently mentioned as a presidential candidate, and Senate majority whip Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia have endorsed him and have visited the district.

SAUNDERS' CAMPAIGN has been built on radio and television advertising and voluminous campaign literature. His slogan, "Had enough of the Democrats and Republicans," has been aimed at disillusioned and independent voters, and he and his aides insist the slogan has touched a responsive chord.

For the past several weeks, Saunders has been living out of his car, traveling extensively in all parts of the district. One day last week, he was forced to cancel a speech because of exhaustion; however, following a night's sleep, he was up at 6 a.m. and on the road.

The fourth candidate in the 6th District race is independent Timothy McGay, a 29-year-old Augusta County farmer who has run his campaign on \$1,000. Whatever votes McGay receives are not expected to be significant.



Puckett

McGay



Saunders

Butler



# Wampler, Butler Differed in Nixon Loyalty

By WAYNE WOODLIEF  
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — How to handle loyalty to Richard Nixon—as president and party leader—was a delicate balancing act for most Republicans in Congress the past two years, and their individual deftness at the job may determine which of them will be back here next year.

Two Southwest Virginia Republicans, freshman Rep. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke and veteran Rep. William C. Wampler of Bristol, differed in their approaches to Nixon loyalty.

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, voted to impeach the President because the committee's impeachment investigation revealed abuses of presidential power which, Butler said, "I cannot condone . . . I cannot excuse . . . and I cannot and will not stand still for."

But Butler was a consistent supporter of Nixon administration programs, upholding vetoes against minimum wage increases and other spending that Nixon deemed inflationary; voting against food stamps for strikers; voting to let the President, instead of Congress, decide what is an excessive oil and coal industry profit; and voting against oil price rollbacks.

Wampler, the ranking Republican member on the House Agriculture Committee, agonized over impeachment. He generally deplored the Watergate affair and its related abuses, but never said whether he would impeach Nixon. "We are creating precedents which haunt this country for years and I want to be very careful what I do," Wampler told a reporter the week before Nixon resigned.

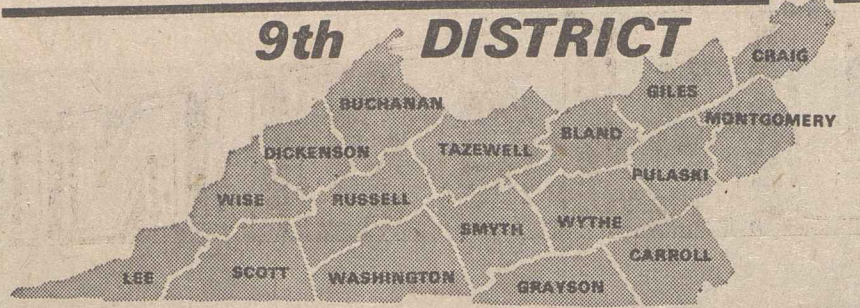
Wampler also lacked Butler's consistency in his approach to supporting Nixon legislatively, especially on Nixon's attempts to offset his administration's own swollen federal budget by cutting Democratic-backed social spending programs.

Wampler, whose mountain district is lower-income and more economically distressed than Butler's, sometimes had to juggle his district's interests against his conservative philosophy and party loyalty.

Wampler's stand in 1973 and 1974 on the minimum wage bill illustrates that balancing act. In August of 1973, Wampler voted for and Butler voted against a bill to raise the minimum wage to \$2.20 an hour and extend coverage to about five million federal, state and local government workers plus one million domestics.

Nixon said the bill would feed inflation, and vetoed it. Butler voted to uphold the veto, and, in a switch from his previous position, so did Wampler, one of 11 Republicans so to switch, as the House failed to override the veto. The minimum wage increase was killed for 1973.

This year, both Wampler and Butler



wound up voting for an even larger minimum wage bill, though both also voted (on the losing side) for amendments which would have limited its coverage and cost.

Butler's vote for the 1974 bill—which gradually raises the minimum wage to \$2.30 and extends coverage to seven million additional workers—was one of his rare legislative inconsistencies.

Wampler sometimes did his balancing act to his potential political peril. For instance, one of the most disputed issues of his current campaign against Democrat Charles Horne is whether Wampler, as Horne charges, really voted against \$968,712,000 in black lung benefits for miners in 1972.

The answer, unraveled from legislative complexity, is yes and no. "Congressional Quarterly," a research publication respected for its objectivity,

reported that "Wampler didn't vote against black lung benefits, but rather against an appropriations bill containing the benefits; he later voted for a revised bill which still contained the benefits."

In the sense that the nearly \$1 billion in black lung benefits was part of a \$30 billion-plus health, education and welfare appropriations bill which Nixon called "reckless federal spending," Wampler voted against it. It passed anyway.

The bill became part of the continuing struggle between the Nixon administration and the Democratic congressional majority over federal spending. Nixon vetoed the bill, and forced Congress to come back with a new one, with roughly \$900 million lopped off, but the \$968,712,000 in black lung benefits still intact.

Wampler voted for that bill. Nixon pocket-vetoed it. Congress then came back with a "continuing resolution"

which provided the full black lung benefits under separate legislation. Wampler voted for the resolution, and thus for the benefits.

Other bills in 1973 and 1974 also illustrate the difference in the Butler-Wampler approach: Butler usually consistent in opposing the spending program, even on final passage; Wampler sometimes voting for the social program funding on final passage, after voting to reduce the funding on earlier amendments.

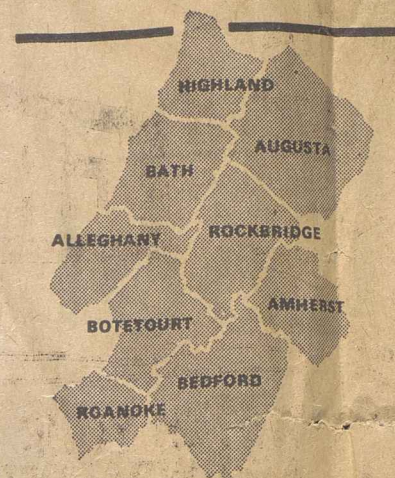
Examples include:

Older Americans Bill, 1973: Nixon claimed that a \$1.4 billion federal program to assist older Americans was excessive. Wampler and Butler both voted for a substitute bill, offered by Rep. Earl Landgrebe, R-Ind., for a \$501 million program of grants to states. Landgrebe said the more costly bill "doesn't do more for older people. It does more for the bureaucracy."

But the Landgrebe substitute was defeated. Wampler then voted for the Older Americans Act. Butler voted against it.

Vocational Rehabilitation Bill, 1973: Landgrebe—who said during Nixon's last days that he would oppose impeachment even if he and Nixon had to be taken out and shot—introduced a substitute bill to cut a \$2.6 billion authorization for rehabilitation by more than half.

Wampler and Butler voted for the Landgrebe substitute. It lost. Wampler then voted for the bill; Butler against it.



## 6th DISTRICT

Nixon vetoed that bill, and forced the House to come back with one for \$1.3 billion. Both Wampler and Butler voted for the new bill.

Oil price rollbacks: Wampler was the only Virginia congressman to consistently vote to roll back gas and oil prices during 1973 and 1974. Butler opposed such rollbacks, which the Nixon administration argued would lead to shortages and rationing.

Wampler—like Butler—did, however,

vote on Dec. 13 for an amendment which would have protected windfall profits in the oil and coal industries from judicial review.

The amendment also would have permitted the President instead of Congress, to define reasonable profits, and to propose excess profits taxes and regulations.

When the amendment failed, Butler voted against the bill, which would have imposed an excess profits tax on the oil and gas industry. Wampler voted for the bill.

In February 1974, the House passed an emergency energy bill ordering oil price rollbacks. Butler opposed the bill. Wampler voted for it after he had joined others in an unsuccessful attempt to permit a host of floor amendments intended to blunt the impact of the rollback on the industry.

Wampler continued to vote for a price rollback, and Butler against it on subsequent votes. But the fading of the energy crisis, filibustering by oil-state senators and veto threats helped prevent any of the rollback and excess profits legislation from becoming law.

On consumer protection, Butler received one of the worst ratings in the nation from the Consumer Federation of America—an 8 per cent—with the "right" vote on 13 issues.

Wampler got a 39 per cent rating from the association. Wampler voted for the consumer protection agency bill.



REP. BUTLER

## Butler Shocked 'Em But Expects to Win

By Brian Kelly  
Star-News Staff Writer

Two years ago, his campaign slogan was, "You'll know he's there." Now it's, "You know he's there," and the issue at stake in freshman Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's bid for re-election is: Did it hurt him to be there?

For Butler, 49, an owlish Roanoke lawyer with a rapier wit, "there" not only was the House of Representatives, but the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings last summer.

MANY a Nixon fan in Butler's conservative, Republican-tinged 6th Congressional District was decidedly unhappy with the strong, pro-impeachment stand Butler took in an eloquent, nationally televised committee statement asserting that failure to impeach his Republican president would "condone" presidential abuse of power and leave "frightening implications" for the country's future.

Butler added, "There will be no joy in it for me." As a GOP regular, onetime associate and law partner of former Gov. Linwood Holton (the first Republican elected governor of Virginia in 100 years), and as a former GOP minority leader of the Virginia House of Delegates, Butler undoubtedly found it painful to call for Richard M. Nixon's impeachment.

THE IMMEDIATE response from 6th District constituents, Butler's aides said, was 1,000 letters, telephone calls and telegrams supporting his impeachment stance, and 700 against it. The 700 critics were not the best news for a House freshman facing campaign competition this fall from a moderate Democrat and a conservative American party nominee as well as a little-known independent.

Then came Nixon's final revelation of his cover-up role in the Watergate affair and his resignation. As a result, Butler's close associates — and most Roanoke area political observers —

feel he will have no problem winning re-election on Tuesday.

"I THINK we'll do as well, if not a little better, than in 1972," said Jay Langhammer, a steel fabricator who was Butler's campaign manager two years ago. In that race, Butler defeated both a popular Democrat, former Roanoke Mayor and Virginia Del. Willis Anderson, and Independent Roy White with a 55 percent majority in their three-way race.

"To be too right, too soon, just doesn't go in some circles," said another 6th District Republican. "But (with Nixon's resignation) it all balances out now."

With Democrat Paul Puckett, sheriff of Roanoke, nibbling at one side of Butler's potential vote and American party conservative Warren D. Saunders nibbling on the right, the Republican incumbent's associates claim the final Nixon disclosures mollified the die-hards among GOP and Nixon fans who were shocked at first by Butler's impeachment stand.

STILL, some GOP strategists, Langhammer among them, acknowledge a degree of apathy among Roanoke Valley voters, apparently stemming from the national political events of the last two years. Of Butler, one party source said, "He's slipped a little lately; he'll win, but not by a majority."

One reason may be the vigorous campaign effort mounted by Saunders, a 35-year-old fertilizer supplier from nearby Bedford who has spread his conservative message on expensive billboards and television ads.

He says congressmen serious about stopping inflation could cut their own \$42,500 annual salaries by 10 percent.

DEMOCRAT Puckett, in the meantime, calls himself a moderate and claims the Republicans have no idea of the residue of anti-GOP feeling still lingering in this "Mountain Valley" stronghold of Virginia Republicanism.

Puckett said of Butler:

"He lost a lot of his conservative support because of his vote in the committee, but at the same time he picked up some of what we think is our vote. Then, along comes the Nixon pardon — and we got back our vote."

Puckett, 56, a former state trooper, Roanoke city councilman and brokerage firm sales trainer, suffers from a lack of money and districtwide identity in the 6th, which stretches up the Shenandoah Valley as far as Staunton and Augusta and as far east as Lynchburg.

BUT HE HAS obtained the endorsement, if not the biggest dollars, of the AFL-CIO, and the aid of the Democratic party establishment, which has dispatched Virginia Atty. Gen. Andrew P. Miller, and U.S. Sens. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex., and Robert Byrd, D-W. Va., the Senate's majority whip, here on Puckett's behalf.

Republican Butler's aides, meanwhile, say the congressman will spend \$40,000 to \$50,000 on his election bid. He has placed a \$500 individual limit on campaign contributions and barred any funds whatsoever from political action groups, his spokesmen here say.

BUTLER'S big guns making campaign appearances have included the Vice President Gerald Ford last summer, as well as former Gov. Holton and Virginia's present governor Mills E. Godwin Jr., now a Republican, but a Democratic governor at the time Butler led the opposition in Virginia's General Assembly as House minority leader.

Godwin, referring to Butler's impeachment stand, said "when he made the eloquent speech that he did, it was not an easy thing for him to do. But it was the right thing for him to do, and that's the distinction between a statesman and a politician."

Similarly, Butler's own campaign brochure makes no bones about his impeachment role and said his seat on the House Judiciary Committee "led to historic prominence."





Staff photos

### Candidate vote

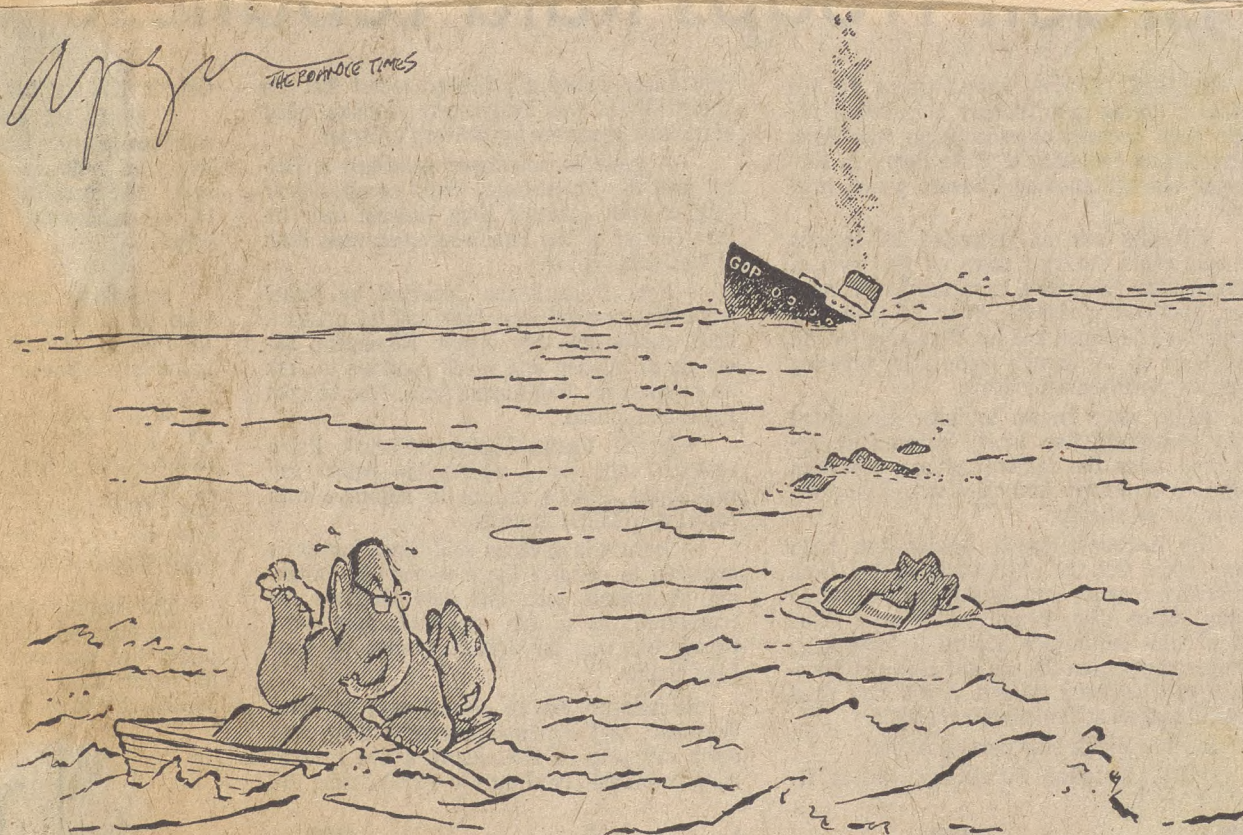
Three of the four 6th District congressional candidates are seen ready to vote today. They are (from left) Paul Puckett and his wife arriving in the rain at Crystal Spring School; incumbent Rep. Caldwell Butler with his son checking in, at Roanoke No. 3 precinct; and Warren Saunders talking with a Puckett campaign worker at Chamblissburg. The fourth candidate is Timothy McGay of Augusta County.



## The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Tuesday, November 5, 1974

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THE ROANOKE TIMES

Wednesday, November 6, 1974



# Zealous Campaign Workers in 6th Credited by Butler for Easy Victory



Times Photo by Oakie Asbury  
Butler Gets Returns by Phone

By RAY REED  
Times Staff Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler attributed his election to a second term Tuesday night to "the best campaign organization in the 6th District" and shied away from questions about Watergate.

Butler said the Republican party workers "were the difference in the campaign, the margin of victory."

He refused to say whether his votes on the House Judiciary Committee to impeach former President Nixon on two counts might have contributed to his wide victory margin.

"I haven't had time to analyze the results of the election," he said. "I don't know where the votes came from."

He admitted "it was a bad year for Republicans across the country," but on that matter too, he "reserved judgment" on whether Watergate issues were responsible for GOP losses.

Butler made his victory statement in his campaign headquarters hours after the outcome of the election was apparent. He waited until concession statements were issued by his two strongest opponents, Democrat Paul Puckett and American party candidate Warren Saunders.

The mood of Butler's campaign workers and supporters was one of quiet assurance throughout the evening. They were more concerned about Rep. William Wampler's close race against Democrat Charles Horne in the 9th District, and Democratic upsets of Republican congressmen in the 8th and 10th districts.

The only concern for Butler's success was reflected by Butler supporters when early returns from Roanoke City and Roanoke County gave their candidate only a slim margin over Saunders.

Butler quickly surged ahead, and several supporters started going home. The ones who stayed were impatient for concession statements from Puckett and Saunders so they could go home, too.

Butler's arrival at the headquarters, around 9 p.m. was greeted by almost casual handshakes and congratulatory messages.

Both Butler and Puckett expressed admi-

ration for the effectiveness of Saunders' campaign. Both also noted Saunders seemed to have a large amount of money to spend.

"He spent a great deal of money and he spent it wisely," Butler said. He attributed the effectiveness of Saunders' campaign to advertising and listening to the grievances of the electorate.

Butler said he thought most of the support Saunders received came from people dissatisfied with Butler's performance. The congressman said he thought Puckett's votes represented "basic, fundamental, raw, primitive Democratic support."

Puckett, however, claimed he was undercut by Saunders. "I think without a doubt Mr. Saunders took votes from us that we might have had," Puckett said.

The Roanoke sheriff said he was disappointed by Roanoke Valley returns. Saunders, he said, "had a way of presenting his issues that caught on with our people."

"I think if we had that same amount of money (as Saunders) we would have won in Roanoke," Puckett said.

The mood at his campaign headquarters started out as optimistic, and when returns started going against Puckett, hopes were buoyed by the Democratic party's strong showing nationally.

Puckett delayed his concession as long as possible, at one point posing for photographers with a knife in his hand to cut a cake with "Puckett for Congress" icing.

Saunders, although he ran strongly in several areas, carried only Bedford City and county in early returns. He remarked that "people in Bedford County and Bedford City got better taste than some people."

After the outcome was apparent, Saunders said, wearily, "we gave it a whirl."

"I just think the people failed to realize the condition that the country is in, and in the next 12 to 18 months, they are going to find out."

George Melton, Saunders' campaign coordinator, said the defeat was "worse than we anticipated. Any time you are building a third party, you are working with all volunteer and inexperienced help."

"It was professionals against volunteers is what it boils down to."

R.T. Used Nov. 6, 1979



Times Photo by Bob Phillips  
Loser Paul Puckett and Wife Cut Gift Cake at Headquarters

## County Voters

## Nolen Edges Giesen for Senate



## National: a Republican disaster

Blame it on Watergate, blame it on Nixonomics, or on what the political scientists call the six-year itch. . . blame it on all of them. Whatever the cause or causes, the offyear congressional elections were an unnatural disaster for the Republicans. There were tiny shafts of light (including the re-election of M. Caldwell Butler in Virginia's Sixth District, discussed below), but the overall picture was far worse than even the most pessimistic had imagined:

With some results still out, the Democrats appear to be headed for a majority of over 290 in the House of Representatives, which would give them that "magic" two-thirds majority and a theoretical veto power (though in practice, both the Democratic winning incumbents and newcomers are far too diverse a group to work in unison very often.)

A net gain in the House of anything over 30 seats is considered better than usual for a party not occupying the White House in an offyear election. The non-White House party has a special advantage, called the six-year itch, when the other party has controlled the White House for a term and a half.

## 6th District: Butler stands tall

M. Caldwell Butler, with the help of an invigorating side trip to the House Judiciary Committee, has survived the general Republican debacle. His was not a sweeping victory, but it was solid. After the events of yesterday, it resembles granite.

Without that fine performance in the judiciary committee and with a stronger Democratic challenger, Rep. Butler perhaps would have gone the way of so many of his Republican colleagues in the House. His campaign was active, but not inspired. His voting record was good, but not unassailable. He sometimes seemed to view politics on the stump as beneath his dignity. And, finally, if Warren Saunders (with his potent media campaign) had decided to stick to his fertilizer business the race would have been much closer.

There is no doubt that Mr. Saunders, whose disappointment in his showing strikes us as unwarranted, took votes away from the Democratic hopeful, Paul Puckett. We tend to agree with Rep. Butler's assertion that Mr. Puckett's vote represented "basic, fundamental, raw,

Inflation brought the final whammy to the Republicans, who also stand to lose at least six governorships, giving the Democrats state-house control over some 90 per cent of the population and a broad base from which to build for 1976. The Senate performance, though less staggering than the victories in the House and gubernatorial races, will put the Democrats in even more solid control of that body.

The 1964-like rout will not signal the end of the GOP, as some particularly gloomy observers have said. Some Democrats of dubious talent were elected simply because they weren't Republicans, but some good Republicans survived. The ideological makeup of the 94th Congress is not likely to swerve crazily to the left. In the event that should happen, the voters are likely to take it out on the Democrats in 1976, despite what now appears to be their unbeatable starting point. When the smoke clears, good Republicans will still be electable. It is not the end of the party; it is only the smashing end of the Nixon interlude, for which the party professionals, despite the evidence of yesterday, had very little responsibility.

primitive Democratic support." Much of the wavering, disenchanted Democratic vote ended up with Mr. Saunders.

Mr. Puckett had other problems, besides Mr. Saunders. His campaign never really got off the ground, politically or financially. Though a sincere, personable man, he could not mold the available issues into definitive shapes. Saunders, meanwhile, was pushing all the emotional buttons, latching onto such vague issues that shaping was all but impossible. The two campaigners, with two entirely different approaches (and, under normal circumstances, with two entirely different constituencies) ran neck and neck most of the evening in what turned out to be a dual raid on much the same range of voters.

But the fate of both Saunders and Puckett was sealed at the close of the judiciary committee impeachment hearings. Butler had his chance in the spotlight and he was magnificent. Many voters must have had a hard time imagining either of his opponents doing nearly as well in that spot; and that had to make a big difference.

# Butler Tells of Chang

THE ROANOKE TIMES, Friday, November 8, 1974

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## ing View on Nixon

By ROBERT B. SEARS  
Times Staff Writer

HOT SPRINGS — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler told the Virginia Hospital Association (VHA) Thursday how he came to change his mind about former President Richard Nixon during the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry.

Speaking to the annual meeting of the association, Butler said he started out as a "kind of primitive Republican" who believed that Watergate was a conspiracy "sponsored principally by the liberal press," with the Democrats taking advantage of the opportunity.

"That was certainly my initial view," Butler said, "and shared I think with all the Republicans on the committee."

Butler said he could not tell even now when he changed his mind, but it was an accumulative process.

"It was," he said, "this insidious process of revelations shaking our confidence in the executive branch and particularly in the candor of Richard Nixon."

Butler said the thing that most tied it all together for him was the evidence presented by John Doar, the committee counsel, who showed that on the weekend of the Watergate break-in all the high command of the executive branch were scattered all over the country.

But within three days they had all gotten back to Washington, Butler said, and discussed the break-in, with the exception of the president.

And then H. R. Haldeman went in to discuss the situation with the President, Butler said, and that is where the famous minute break in the tapes occurred.

"That event was very significant," Butler said. "That fact came crashing in on us."

Another event that Butler said "shook me greatly" was the president's conversation with Atty. Gen. Kleindienst with respect to pending antitrust legislation, and the president said no less than four times, "Drop the damn thing."

"There wasn't any question," Butler said, "when we in the committee sat and listened to the conversation itself."

Then, Butler added, Kleindienst went before the committee and said he had not discussed antitrust legislation with the President, and Nixon, knowing this, continued to express confidence in Kleindienst.

"That," Butler said, "shook me as substantially as anything else."

Butler said he wanted to impress upon his audience the difference between reading the transcripts and hearing the tapes. The tone of voice, made it clear Nixon dominated all of the conversations.

Butler said he had the feeling the unraveling of the Watergate affair was like a Greek tragedy. Nixon and his associates discussed whether to "let it all hang out."

"It was perfectly apparent from later conversations of that day that they had chosen not the route of full disclosure, and I think that was the real tragedy. . . That conversation itself told us of total presidential involvement and knowledge."

"Those were the things," Butler said, "that pushed me over the top, as it were, but I don't know at what point in time I made that decision."

Butler voted for impeachment as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.





'The Butler did it!'

## There's a Liberal in Georgia Who Thinks a Lot of Butler

WASHINGTON — Down in Atlanta, Elliot Levitas, a liberal, ousted Georgia's only Republican congressman, Ben Blackburn, a conservative, from the suburbs.

Levitas had sounded his theme—loudly—the night he swept the primary soon after Richard Nixon's resignation.

Three Atlanta television stations had focused their lenses on Levitas. "You expected, when you announced, to be running against a Republican carrying Nixon on his back," a TV reporter asked for openers. "Now that Mr. Nixon has resigned, what difference will Watergate make in your campaign?"

Levitas opened his eyes wide. "Why none at all," he said. "I've never mentioned Watergate in my campaign and I don't intend to start now."

He went on: "Now I've noticed that Mr. Blackburn has been a staunch defender of the former president, but I don't hold that against him. Why, I'd have given him credit for loyalty if it weren't for the fact that last week, when Mr. Nixon finally was brought to his knees, that's when Ben Blackburn decided to kick him."

Levitas raised his voice and his eyes twinkled. "But in my campaign Watergate will have no part," he protested.

The question, naturally, came up again during Levitas' campaign and his

protest remained the same. Suburban Atlantans must have liked what they heard; they gave him better than 56 per cent of the vote.

A Virginia friend called Levitas Wednesday morning to congratulate him. The Atlantan only had one question about the Virginia races. It wasn't about Joel Broyhill, whose stunning defeat dropped the highest ranking Republican Southerner from the House of Representatives.

"What happened to that gutsy Republican from Virginia, the one on the House Judiciary Committee?" Levitas asked.

That may be a sign of the favorable national attention Caldwell Butler of Roanoke brought to himself by his articulate stand during the impeachment proceedings when he denounced Watergate and chided Nixon.

He spoke out on abuses which, he said, "I cannot condone . . . I cannot excuse . . . and I cannot and will not stand for."

A new quip from North Carolina's retiring Sen. Sam Ervin to newsmen was

## Washington Report

By Don Hill

galloping around the halls of the national press club last week. "The only thing I'm running for now," said Sen. Ervin, "is the kingdom of heaven."

He added, "I have no Republican opposition."

Considering the purgatory to which so many GOP politicians were consigned, Tuesday, that crack had the timbre of truth. But Butler survived, and, according to the reports, handily.

He rose from the 11th to 6th ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, but that statistic may fail to represent fully his rise in influence in the Congress.

The House side of the capitol is unlike the Senate side, where members are instantly recognized by their colleagues and by the minions of the Senate staffs. In the House, with 435 seats, recognition it-

See Page B-6, Col. 1

State's 2 New House Democrats Are Pros — Page B-9

B-6

THE ROANOKE TIMES, Sunday, November 10, 1974

## Liberal Calls Butler A 'Gutsy Republican'

From Page B-1

self is hard-won. Butler certainly has that now.

Butler's Watergate denunciation last summer brought him telephone calls and letters from his district, congratulations from colleagues, and an invitation—rare for an unknown freshman—to appear on CBS' "Face The Nation."

One of CBS news correspondent George Herman's first questions was this:

"We know from history that in the past some of the people who have voted for impeachment of a president have lost their seats. Do you anticipate any of that kind of trouble? You were, after all, in the first line of voting . . . and do you expect that this could be a serious threat to your continued (career) in the House or in politics?"

Butler responded in a way that reporters who have watched him for the last two years in a Washington found characteristic. He said, "Well, I think—speaking, I think, for the whole community—this vote is certainly more significant than the political future of any individual on the committee, and I think we all faced it that way entirely. As a matter of fact, you know, the job really isn't that good that

you want to compromise yourself to what you think is right . . ."

The people who originally sent Butler, 49, a politician since 1958, to Congress knew at the time he wasn't going to be your standard Republican pol.

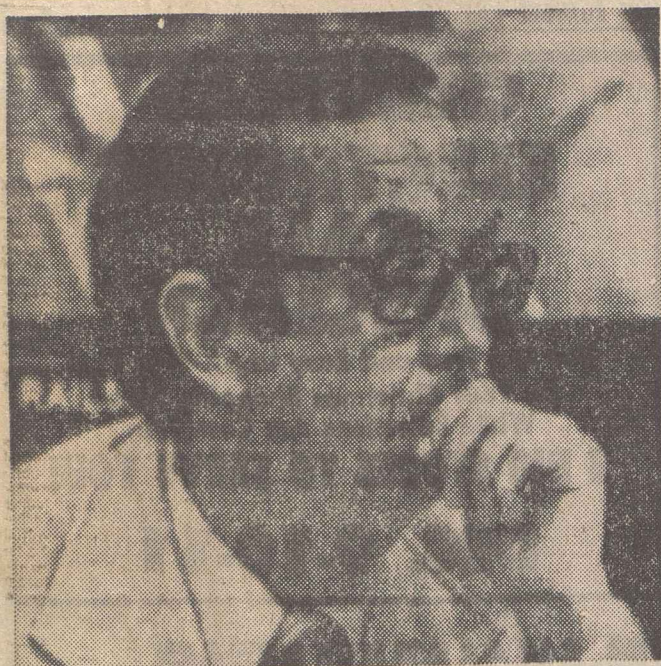
In the Virginia House of Delegates, where he was the tiny Republican minority's leader, he was noted, and feared, for his keen-honed wit. He supported an end to the poll tax and fought for open committee sessions.

As he noted in the "Face The Nation" interview, he labored to educate the people of his district in advance of his impeachment stand about the concern he felt over the mounting evidence. In the end, he has proven, a plurality of them agreed with him.

Elliot Levitas, in Atlanta, looked over news accounts last week and concluded, "I think the people have shown that negativism like the Nixon Southern strategy just isn't going to work. A lot of people thought that's how the suburbs would go, but they didn't."

Which may explain why a Democrat like Levitas, a liberal, was inclined to ask about the fate of a Republican like Butler, a conservative—that gutsy republican from Virginia.





Caldwell Butler

# Democrats, GOP Vie for House Reforms

By JACK BETTS  
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler is one of 14 House Republicans all set to push for reforming the way Congress does its business—if the Democrats don't beat them to it.

Butler was named last month to work on a Republican task force on congressional reform to come up with proposals for streamlining all aspects of House procedure—from the committee system on down to the way members are notified of the legislative schedule.

But in the past three days the newly elected Democratic members of the 94th Congress have been caucusing and steadily throwing out the old ways. The changes approved by the Democrats so far include stripping Wilbur Mills' Ways and Means Committee of committee assignment power, expanding that committee from 25 to 37 members, providing for the election of the appropriations subcommittee

chairman and approving moves to give junior members a better choice of committee assignments.

Republicans, Butler says, will have their own proposals to bring forth when the House convenes for the new session Jan. 14, but he's not sure what they'll be yet.

"I joined this group mostly for the education," Butler admits frankly, "but there are a number of items that concern me."

Some of the reforms, he said in an interview off the House floor Wednesday, are the nuts-and-bolts of daily legislating.

For one thing, Butler explains, "it's a pretty sad commentary on the Democratic leadership that we have to specifically request notification of the legislative program coming up—but we do."

"That," declares Butler, "is not a reform, it's a necessity" so that members can study issues to come before them in

the immediate future and be prepared for floor debate and voting.

Likewise, he says, there is another irritation. "The leadership keeps putting things on the legislative calendar and off again, on again and off again. I think they scheduled post card registration about eight times before we ever got to it," he says.

As far as major reforms go, Butler says, he was disappointed the Democratic-controlled Congress rejected the congressional reform proposal authorized by Rep. Richard Bolling, D-Md., which would have restructured radically the House committee system. Instead, the House opted for a much-watered-down version developed by retiring Democrat Julia Butler Hansen, a package that Butler calls primarily "cosmetic."

"About the only good thing that did was prohibit the use of proxy voting in committees," said Butler. "There may be

an effort to restore that and we've got to resist it." Proxy voting is often used by both parties in committee to cast votes for absent members.

Butler also believes both the Republican and Democratic caucuses, where party positions and strategy are determined in secret, ought to be opened up and that voting ought to be made public.

The caucus earlier this week re-elected the urbane, liberal John Anderson of Illinois by a wide margin over the conservative Charles Wiggins of California, like Butler a member of the Judiciary Committee and one of President Nixon's strongest supporters until the final days.

"That vote was taken in secret, you know, and unless it serves any purpose I'm not saying who I supported," said Butler. "But I could make a good case for either one of them."

"Besides," added Butler, "you don't ask people who they voted for in the elections, do you?"

## W.N. Sat Nov. 23, 1974 Butler praises Rocky's candor

WASHINGTON—Rep. Caldwell Butler yesterday praised Nelson Rockefeller, vice presidential nominee, for his candor and praised him for offering himself to public service.

Butler's a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which is holding hearings on Rockefeller's nomination.

"Disclosure is the best protection against abuse of power," Butler told Rockefeller. "And I find your candor has gone a long way toward dis-

arming those who are troubled by this (issue)."

"I'm grateful when people of great wealth offer themselves for public office and I, for one, appreciate the time and talent you have offered to public service."

The Roanoke Republican said he'd reserve judgment on his vote on the confirmation until he has heard witnesses next week and read Rockefeller's testimony before the Senate Rules Committee.



In 1962, the Roanoke library moved down the hill from old residence (top of picture) where it had been housed

## Library tribute to woman

The true university of these days is a collection of books.

—Carlyle

By M. Carl Andrews

Young, brawling, ambitious Roanoke, striving to pull from under the shadow of the Civil War, had scant time for the finer things of life.

Some of the more affluent acquired books in their homes and by 1894 a private club boasted a small library, but a public library was something in the distant future.

Book-hungry citizens once operated a reading room on gifts, then formed an association that ran on dues and fees so that by 1912 there was a privately-owned circulating library. Aside from that, some of the wealthy loaned books among friends but the general public could only purchase an occasional volume and dream.

The splendid public library we see today in Elmwood Park with its branches throughout the city is a scant half century old. That it is there at all is a tribute to a handful of devoted citizens and in particular to one dauntless woman: Mrs. W. W. S. Butler Jr.

Returning to her native city after World War I and Dr. Butler's service in the U.S. Navy, she determined that Roanoke should have a library. Having trained in library science at Pratt Institute and worked in libraries of Cleveland and New York, she was prepared to lead.

First, she organized the Roanoke Library Association and on Oct. 21, 1919, appeared before City Council with Mrs. Thomas W. Goodwin, Mrs. George Van Lear, Mrs. Harry Semones and E. M. Eubank

seeking \$40,000 to repair the old Tosh-Peyton-Terry home in Elmwood, purchase books and pay salaries. Council allocated \$10,000 to remodel, \$13,000 for books and \$5,000 for furniture and shelving. It was stipulated that the women raise \$30,000.

On April 19-24 they held "tag days," raising \$27,000 and the difference was forgiven. On May 21, 1921, with 8,000 books, the city's first public library opened as Mayor W. W. Boxley presented the keys to Mrs. Butler in the presence of State Librarian H. B. MacIlwaine and Dr. George J. Bowman of the Library of Congress. The budget in 1922 was \$14,952.44.

Everyone recognized that the library that Miss Pearl R. Hinesley operated in the old plantation house for the next 30 years was inadequate and a firetrap. As early as 1927 there was talk about a library built for that purpose but the Great Depression followed by World War II delayed that. Nevertheless, a branch opened in Raleigh Court in 1926.

In 1940 bonds for a library, stadium and an armory were approved but Federal WPA funds ran out and the library was dropped for another decade. Only a branch for blacks in Gainsboro was erected.

In 1948 Friends of the Public Library, headed by Frank W. Rogers Sr. started pressing for action that was to come two years later, the costs meanwhile continuing to climb.

There ensued a long fight over use of Elmwood Park. The people voted against the site and council chose it anyhow, awarding a contract for \$429,563 on July 18, 1950.

The new library we know today opened June 3, 1952, after Boy Scouts moved books down the hill from the old mansion. Council subsequently leased that building to the Roanoke Council of Garden Clubs until the ravages of age compelled its razing.

Today there are five branches strategically placed in the Gainsboro, Jackson Park, Melrose, Raleigh Court and Williamson Road sections, each serving a large portion of the population and acting as centers of community life.

Head librarian of the system today is Miss Nancy Ellen Himes, who took over June 1, 1966 after serving three times in acting capacity while the city was obtaining (and losing) a series of four male librarians in 12 years.

She started with a budget of \$225,000 and 139,000 volumes, the per capita spending of \$1.50 far below national average. Circulation has mounted steadily past 500,000. There are thousands of records and hundreds of films to lend, an excellent department on Virginia, room for regular art exhibits and a large reading room always in heavy use.

Currently there are 290,034 volumes in the system, the budget is \$549,112 and per capita spending, including state funds, \$6.07. Starting immediately, the city will operate a bookmobile service to Craig County under \$10,000 state subsidy.

Mrs. Butler's dream has come a long way and she lived to see it.



# Panel Approves Rockefeller

WASHINGTON (AP) — Vice President-designate Nelson A. Rockefeller's confirmation was overwhelmingly approved Thursday by the House Judiciary Committee despite opposition because of his wealth and gifts.

The vote was 26-12 to recommend Rockefeller's final confirmation by the full House, probably next Thursday.

President Ford predicted earlier this week the 435-member House would confirm Rockefeller by a large majority although there could be as many as 100 votes against him. The Senate approved confirmation, 90 to 7.

Judiciary Committee chairman Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., who hopes to put Rockefeller's nomination to a full House vote

late next Thursday, said he understands Ford is considering having Rockefeller sworn in later that night at the White House.

Then, for the first time in its history, the nation would have both a president and a vice president who were not elected by the voters.

All 12 votes against Rockefeller came from Democrats who said they were concerned about potential conflict of interest from his vast wealth and his gifts and loans to public officials.

In New York, Rockefeller received the news from the senior Republican on the committee, Robert McClory. "It was you who did it. You who gave the leadership," Rockefeller told the Illinois congressman. Rockefeller said "We still need to keep our fingers crossed. I won't relax or take anything for granted until the vote takes place in the House."

Rodino and eight other Democrats joined all 17 committee Republicans in voting to recommend the former New York governor's nomination.

But the judiciary chairman, who voted against President Ford's confirmation as vice president in the full House, refused to say whether he would vote for Rockefeller next week.

Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland, who voted against confirmation, said putting Rockefeller in line to become president, with his \$300 million in Exxon oil holdings, is "like taking the captain of the team and also making him umpire of the game."

Another who voted against confirmation, Rep. John Conyers of Michigan, declared: "This great merger of wealth and power is more than this Congress should tolerate."

But Republican Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr. of New Jersey accused committee Democrats of citing "phony reasons" when they really oppose Rockefeller because he is a Republican who dis' with them.

## Fell Under His Spell, Says Supporter Butler

By JACK BETTS  
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Admitting that he had fallen "under the spell of his charm," Roanoke Republican M. Caldwell Butler Thursday voted with 26 of the 38 members of the House Judiciary Committee in recommending the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as vice president.

In a brief statement of support for the wealthy former Republican governor of New York, Butler declared that while he was "far from being in total philosophical agreement with the nominee," Rockefeller was President Ford's choice and should be confirmed.

Butler said he shared "the reservations here expressed about the disabling limitations of great wealth and the poor judgment demonstrated on several occasions . . . But in my judgment, they fall far short of being disqualifying."

Butler's vote to recommend Rockefeller's approval by the whole House next week has been expected for several weeks since he told a reporter he had found nothing that would prevent Rockefeller's service.

He expanded on that Thursday, arguing

that "a vote against Rockefeller frustrates the purpose of the 25th Amendment to assure that the country shall not long be without a vice president."

He added, "Our responsibility is to reject that nomination only if an investigation reveals compelling reasons reflecting on his personal integrity or his capacity to discharge the responsibility that may become his."

Rockefeller's cooperation with the committee, Butler said, "has been as complete as we might reasonably require" and the committee's investigation has been "more intensive and extensive" than any other "in history."

Yet, said Butler, "the nominee's personal integrity remains intact and his tremendous ability and talent has been demonstrated before the committee."

Butler said, "I confess that I have fallen somewhat under the spell of his charm and his infectious enthusiasm for his work— whatever it may be at the moment. He is a remarkable person who has given generously of his time, talent and substance for the nation he so obviously loves and appreciates, and we are fortunate that there are such men as he."

## Virginians' Votes on Oil Imports

Virginia members of Congress, sad to say, did not acquit themselves especially well in votes on the infamous bill H.R. 8193. That is the measure to compel use of U.S.-flag merchant ships in a certain proportion of oil imported into this country. Among the bill's long-range effects would be increases in oil prices and diversion of capital to build unneeded U.S. tankers.

The original bill passed the House May 8, 1974, by a 266-136 margin. Voting for this bad bill in the Virginia delegation were Downing, Whitehurst, Satterfield, R.W. Daniel, W.C. Daniel, Parris and Broyhill. Voting against were only three: Butler, Robinson and Wampler.

The Senate version of the bill passed on Sept. 5 by a 42-28 vote. Virginia's Sen. William L. Scott voted for it, Harry F. Byrd Jr. against.

A conference committee reported out a compromise bill Oct. 7. This measure is slightly more flexible as to the amount of oil imports that must be carried in U.S. bottoms, but still is a bad bill. The House passed it 219 to 140 on Oct. 10. A few votes changed in the

Virginia delegation: Satterfield, Parris and Broyhill switched from yea to nay; R.W. Daniel did not vote.

A Senate vote was pending as this was written, and that body was expected to approve the conference report also.

Since their actions on this bill, two Virginia Congressmen have been retired by the voters. It is important, nonetheless, that the record on H.R. 8193 be put plainly before the public. It is one of the worst and most ill-timed pieces of legislation that Congress has received in this session. If the public is vigilant and noisy enough, hope remains for a presidential veto that will stand up.

## Mr. Butler's Important Task

Unless you count meetings of the District of Columbia Committee, there's nothing that stirs the average voter less than reform of Congress' internal machinery. I don't care how you make the wheels move, he's liable to say, as long as you vote right when pocketbook issues and other gut matters are on the floor.

It doesn't matter to Mr. (or Ms.) Average Voter that unless Congress can get its wheels moving, some of those gut issues won't come to the floor, or if they do, people may not know what side their representative took in the machinations that precede floor action. Procedural matters have importance but no glamor, and those who labor in the vineyards of reform take on a task that is usually thankless.

That is why Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler deserves notice for the time and effort he has been putting in on House reform. He is one of 14 House Republicans who accepted assignment in November to a task force on reforming the way Congress goes about its business. So far, Democrats have been busy too, and are beating the GOP to the punch—un-

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Some members of Congress survive by gaudy tactics and by taking stridently noisy, even demagogic, positions on key issues. Some others survive by fading into the woodwork, mailing out home economics booklets to newlyweds and carefully attending to the most trivial requests from their constituents. Still others serve with distinction and integrity, doing genuinely useful service even if it lacks political sex appeal. In little more than two years in the House, Mr. Butler has demonstrated that he belongs in the ranks of the truly solid citizens of Congress.

1974

5

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Saturday, December 14, 1974

E. Godwin of Virginia will be among participants in



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## Editorials

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R.T. Sun Dec 22, 1974

# Men from the South Lead 93rd Congress

WASHINGTON.— The 93rd Congress closed last week with a flurry of activity that dwarfs the actions of former Congresses.

Men from the upper South led the nation and the Congress in 1974 in ways that history will long remember.

It was the first Congress to drive a president from office—not meanly as Andrew Johnson almost was—but cautiously, responsibly, deliberately.

It was also the first Congress to set up a legislative budget-making process, a process by which Congress promises to set its own spending ceilings and enforce them and thereby accept responsibility alongside the president for the money bills it passes.

Retiring North Carolina Sen. Sam Ervin was in the forefront of both these endeavors, a climactic year for him to end his 20 years on the Hill. Freshman Virginia Rep. Caldwell Butler distinguished himself in the country's eyes in the final days of the Nixon fall.

Ervin's work on the Senate select committee to investigate presidential campaign practice—the Watergate committee—is known to virtually every American with a TV set.

Ervin was the unanimous choice last January of his Democratic colleagues in the Senate to set up the Watergate investigation. Characteristically, he personally drafted the immensely important Senate resolution that set up the select committee and provided its mandate.

Ervin gives the impression of being a man who seldom entertains regrets. He looked back last week on the Watergate probe and said he'd do it all the same way again.

"We had to throw that investigation together quickly and get the evidence quickly and I think the committee did as fine a job as was humanly possible under the circumstances. It gave the American people an opportunity to know what people high in government were doing in betrayal of the trust imposed on them," he said.

But even with much of the Watergate truth known, it was left to the other house of Congress to provide the leadership to tell a confused public how to regard President Nixon's role.

Another statesman from the upper South, Republican Caldwell Butler of Roanoke helped to do that.

Butler was known in his home



## Washington Report

By Don Hill

country as a fighting, loyal Republican. He was, he said last month, a "kind of primitive Republican" who believed at first that Watergate was a conspiracy "sponsored principally by the liberal press."

But as a junior member of the House Judiciary Committee, charged with examining impartially the possible impeachment of the President, Butler was exposed, he said, to "an insidious process of revelations shaking our confidence in the executive branch and particularly in the candor of Richard Nixon."

So in the end, Caldwell Butler stood up to be counted, one of the first two Republican members to announce a proimpeachment stand and one of the firmest members of either party in that stand.

He said, "There will be no joy in it for me."

He also said, "If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people . . . power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

A few days later, Richard Nixon—overruled in his attempt to bury evidence by a Supreme Court whose majority he had chosen, indicted by a bipartisan judiciary committee, impaled by evidence recorded in secret arrogance—stepped down.

What Sam Ervin of North Carolina had helped to begin, Caldwell Butler of Virginia helped to finish and the 93rd Congress took its firm place in history.

Twenty-five years ago, Congress passed a legislative reform act to reform its budget-making process. The effort dissolved in partisan wrangling, interhouse rivalries, and personal jealousies.

Last March, the Senate, in the second half of the 93rd Congress, passed a tightly written budget reform bill—inherently as controversial as any matter to come before a legislature—by an 80-0 vote.

The bill had come from the Senate Government Operations Committee, chaired by Ervin.

There were other bills and other efforts that distinguished the 93rd Congress. But these exemplify those efforts and the leadership exerted by men from the up-

# Rep. Butler Explains Secret Service Bill

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By MELVILLE CARICO  
Times Political Writer

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler says the Secret Service bill that passed the House this week is designed to control expenditures for the protection of the President and other top officials. It is now in the Senate.

"While the American people have a right to feel secure that their president is safe they do not want security used as a veil for luxury," Butler said in a statement released in Washington.

Butler was minority floor manager for the bill when it was on the House floor, having had a hand in its drafting in the House Judiciary Committee.

He acknowledged it was written in the wake of last year's revelations about the \$17-million spent for security on former President Richard Nixon's homes at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

Butler says the new controls the legislation would put on the Secret Service's spending "symbolizes the limits of power in a democracy and intolerance for the abuse of power."

Butler emphasized that the legislation in no way restricts the movement of the president or restricts the Secret Service "in carrying out its legitimate responsibilities."

If the bill passes the Senate the president or any other official entitled to Secret Service protection could designate only one piece of property, presumably his home, to receive permanent security installations. Spending for security at any

other property would be limited to \$10,000.

"This means, for example, that the president would be able to designate one residence owned or leased by himself to be fully secured," Butler explained.

When Secret Service security ends, all permanent installations would have to be removed, if it is economically feasible, and if any permanent improvement increases the value of the property the government would have to be reimbursed.

"The keynotes of the bill are fiscal control and accountability, along with full public disclosure," Butler says.

The legislation will require the Secret Service to make reports each six months on its expenditures to the government operations and appropriations committees in the House and Senate.

And the bill is drafted to prevent any cover-ups.

As an example, when the Secret Service asks another government agency for equipment

and facilities the Secret Service will have to reimburse the agency. This, Butler feels, will reflect the entire cost of protection services.

In addition, no other government agency can make an expenditure to assist the Secret Service unless the latter requests it in writing.

"Such reports will give the Congress the information we need to insure that improvements are actually being made for legitimate security purposes—not for the comfort of an individual," Butler says.



*The President and Mrs. Ford  
request the pleasure of your company  
at a Christmas Ball to be held at  
The White House  
on Tuesday evening, December 17, 1974  
from nine until twelve o'clock*

*Black Tie*



